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The Shape of Things

THE NEW YEAR OPENS WITH ONE HOPE IN every mind: that out of the struggles ahead will come unity among the nations of the anti-fascist coalition. The war will go on, probably with increased fury and losses; no one today would dare venture the predictions of early peace that flooded the press and air waves in the late fall. But even this dark expectation would be more tolerable if we could believe the armies were fighting their way toward a fair prospect of security and freedom. It is the inner political struggle—the struggle that has spilled blood on the streets of Athens, the struggle symbolized by our continued recognition of the fascist dictatorship in Spain—that makes the future seem so menacing at the start of 1945. On another page of this issue we print an address by Juan Negrín, last Prime Minister of the Spanish Republican government. This statement seems to us to highlight most sharply, both in itself and in the circumstances that surround it, the meaning of that inner struggle. Dr. Negrín was to have spoken from London to the great mass meeting at Madison Square Garden called by the Nation Associates on Tuesday of this week. He was refused facilities to broadcast by the British government, and as we go to press, on the day the meeting is to be held, it seems certain he will be unable to speak. Fortunately, the text of his address came in by cable and will be read at the meeting. It deserves a wide hearing. If the treatment of Spain has been a test of democratic purposes ever since 1936, the treatment of Dr. Negrín is an indication that those purposes have not yet altered. A fuller comment on the meeting will appear in these pages next week. Meanwhile we commend to the close attention of our readers the vigorous and magnanimous protest of Juan Negrín.

*

HITLER'S NEW YEAR'S SPEECH MUST HAVE seemed tedious indeed to those who had become accustomed to earlier thunderous addresses. Not even in naming the Jews did he raise his voice to its customary pitch. The impression he gave was distinctly that of a tired man. But nothing could be more harmful to our military effort than to conclude from this external symptom that the war is approaching its end. Hitler announced that the war would go on into 1946, and the new attack launched by Field Marshall von Rundstedt, this time against the American 7th Army, should serve as a warning against taking the Führer's threat too lightly. That he would exploit to the utmost the contradictions and failures of Allied policy in the liberated countries was to be expected. But he took particular advantage of certain statements about Germany to

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prove to his people that they had no other choice but to fight to the end, even if the entire country is destroyed. Here the need for more active Allied political warfare becomes evident. That does not mean we must alter our decisions to make Germany pay for its crimes and make Germany repair all the damage it has caused. On the other hand, it is imperative that no Allied government think of subjecting all Germans to the same brutal treatment to which the Germans have subjected millions of Europeans—Jews and non-Jews —during the past year. Not from the United Nations but from their still beloved Führer can every German expect the final destruction of his country, whether it happens in 1945 or later.

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THE ALLEGED FAILURE OF THE INTELLIGENCE services on the eve of the German counter-offensive stemmed not from lack of information but from inability to interpret it correctly. It is sometimes overlooked that we have the same difficulty in regard to political problems. In the days of the Murphy era, our State Department surely had a great deal of information about what was going on in North Africa and inside France. But it dismissed the De Gaullists as an extremist minority and General de Gaulle himself as a good soldier with too many ambitions and without any substantial following or sense of political reality. Of De Gaulle's "incapacity" to deal with high problems of policy we had proof in the results of his last visit to Moscow. On the other hand, Prime Minister Churchill, unless his Ambassador in Athens is the most snobbish of snobs, must have had information about what was going on in Greece. But his passion for kings and for reactionary solutions to contemporary issues led him to read intelligence reports wrongly and to minimize the influence of those "ruffians" whom he insulted in the House of Commons and with whom he met in Athens a few days later to find a way out of the terrible mess he and his generals had created. The entire handling of the movements of resistance in Europe shows the same inability to read intelligence reports intelligently.

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THE DISAPPEARANCE OF PAPANDREOU AND HIS puppet government, which the dynamics of the Greek situation have long made inevitable, constitutes an important step toward Greek unity, and the retirement of the King, for which the left has been working for years, is a most significant event. As we go to press, there is still no hint from Athens as to the probable composition of the new Cabinet. The Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, is reported, however, to have consulted the E. A. M.'s moderate leader Alexander Svolos. The E. A. M., whose demands include the key ministries of War and of the Interior, is understood to be agreeable to the choice as Premier of George Kafandaris, an elderly politician of the old regime but one who has shown comprehension of the people's movement. Meanwhile General Scobie, at the close of a conference with the E. A. M.'s representatives, has expressed optimism about an early end to the Anglo-Greek strife. It is to be hoped in any case that General Scobie will recognize that the military and political aspects of the Greek problems are inexorably bound together. If he insists that the E. L. A. S. be disbanded and disarmed while the rightist bands—the Security Battalion and the Mountain Brigade—still remain potent factors and before satisfactory guaranties are given for a fair plebiscite and early general elections, then he will needlessly prolong the agony of Greece. If, on the other hand, he allows a comprehensive solution—one that respects the will of the Greek people—to work itself out on both the political and military planes, there will indeed be cause for optimism, in spite of the grotesque and provocative comedy enacted by Mr. Churchill in Athens.

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HENRY WALLACE'S LAST SPEECH BEFORE vacating the office of Vice-President was worthy of the man on whom liberal hopes for the future are pinned. In an address before the American Statistical Association Wallace recommended enactment of a full-employment national budget along the lines of the Murray bill discussed in last week's *Nation*. The outgoing Vice-President compared the bill with similar measures now under discussion in England and Australia, emphasizing "public responsibility for maintaining a high level of general purchasing power." The essential idea, Wallace said, "is that the federal government is ultimately responsible for full employment and can discharge its responsibility only by planning in advance to synchronize all of its programs with the programs of private enterprise so that the whole national income will be maintained at the full-employment level." The bill would provide for sufficient government investment each year to fill the gap between planned private investment and the volume necessary to create jobs for all. Wallace stressed the international as well as the domestic importance of the Murray bill; the United States is the world's largest market, and unemployment here would undermine world price levels and trade. It would be fortunate, indeed, if Wallace were to take over the Department of Commerce in the new Roosevelt Administration and operate it in the light of these policies.

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WHEN BOSTON BITES A BOOK IT IS NOT NEWS, but when a Boston judge dismisses a charge of obscenity and, in the bargain, says that policemen and detectives and judges of the Municipal Court, including himself, are not qualified to pass on the literary value of books, it is worth honorable mention. A clerk at the Dartmouth Book Stall was haled into court for having sold a copy of Erskine Caldwell's "Tragic Ground" after the Watch and Ward Society had complained about it. The detective who arrested the clerk cited a passage in the book about a woman being with a man who was naked to the waist. Judge Elijah Adlow of the Municipal Court was not impressed. He cited by comparison "some of the dancers at some of the shows in town" who continue to be unarrested. He then asked the detective if he had read "Anthony Adverse" or "Gone with the Wind." Detective Blake replied that he had not, whereupon Judge Adlow observed, "That's the trouble with the Police Department. They haven't a big enough library." He went on to say that it "is not for me or for you to try to establish the literary tastes of the community." To be sure, he could not help indulging in a little literary criticism himself. He said that "Tragic Ground" was a dull book—"one you would have to chain yourself to a chair to read"—but he

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can hardly be blamed for exercising any reader's prerogative. We are glad, incidentally, to learn that legislation is to be introduced at the next session of the Massachusetts legislature by which the book and not the clerk who sells it would be on trial. If Boston must make its periodical sallies into censorship, let it pick on the author or the publisher and not the clerk who sells a book. The author and the publisher may at least be presumed to have read it.

*

CANADA'S DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS is the counterpart of our State Department. It is a pleasure, therefore, to report that its new ambassadorial appointments to the United States and Mexico, which take effect this month, show vision and democratic insight. The new ambassadors are young career men of distinguished record and liberal outlook. Both are distinctively Canadian. Neither bears the slightest resemblance to the stuffed-shirt or school-tie diplomat. Lester B. Pearson succeeds Leighton McCarthy in Washington. He is competent, active, and blessed with a sense of humor. He has held important posts in Ottawa and London, and since coming to Washington as Minister-Counselor in 1942, has assumed several important positions in UNRRA and other United Nations committees. Hugh Keenleyside entered the diplomatic service in 1928, the same year as Pearson. Previous to that he had had a distinguished academic career as a teacher of history in British Columbia and in Syracuse and Brown universities. He served in the Canadian legation in Tokyo, rose to be Assistant Secretary of State for External Affairs in Ottawa, and at the time of his new appointment was acting chairman of the Canadian-United States Joint Board of Defense. The appointment of a liberal, top-career diplomat to the Mexican embassy suggests that Canada is gaining a new appreciation of its role in inter-American affairs.

Avery's Last Stand

IN MOST surface details the latest episode in Sewell Avery's sitdown strike against the United States government resembled his previous performances. This time, it is true, he yielded possession of his open-shop fortress without physical resistance. After a three-and-a-half-hour debate with the army major directing the occupation, he walked out unescorted. Otherwise the scenario was largely unaltered. Once again he had stubbornly defied War Labor Board directives which had been unanimously indorsed by the industry members as well as by the public and labor members of the board. Once again his intransigence provoked a walkout of Montgomery Ward employees. Once again he jeopardized the whole structure of war-time mediation machinery. Once again the President and part of the army had to take time out from the war to quell Sewell Avery's rebellion.

As in the case of John L. Lewis's succession of coal strikes, the repetitiousness of Avery's tactics may have destroyed the ardor of some of his initial backers. Even the Union League Club diehards must find his behavior a trifle monotonous; many of the editorial writers who championed his earlier stand—in the months preceding the national election—are now less disposed to picture him as the last guardian of the American way. Although Mark Sullivan continues to view the government's procedure with alarm, even his prose has lost much of its springtime passion. To a large part of the United States, it seems, Sewell Avery is becoming an old bore with an obsession.

The familiarity of the Avery formula, however, does not minimize the importance of the issue. Moreover, in several vital respects the current incident differs from preceding chapters. These new factors may also explain why a lot of Avery's sympathizers have cooled.

For one thing, the clash occurred at a time when American armies were engaged in their bitterest and bloodiest fighting of the war. This was an unpropitious moment for anyone to renew a private war with the government. Secondly, in the current showdown, the payment of back wages owed to Ward employees was as basic a cause of the dispute as the celebrated maintenance-of-membership issue. Heretofore Avery and his legal mouthpieces have valiantly insisted that they were battling for a sacred American principle, that maintenance of membership was a violation of the rights of free men, that they could not yield without permitting the enslavement of their employees under union tyranny. The merits of that argument have been thoroughly exploded by now; but at least it could be couched in pretty phrases by public-relations men.

The strike of Ward workers in Detroit, however, highlighted the disclosure that Avery was no less tenacious in resisting wage rulings of the WLB than in challenging its maintenance-of-membership order. Directives calling for increases in substandard wages had been systematically ignored. The union had fought vainly for payment of several hundred thousand dollars in back wages accumulated since the board's decision was handed down. As William H. Davis, WLB chairman, pointed out, the wage-stabilization program is doomed if it is carried into effect by employers only when wages are frozen and flouted when the board attempts to adjust inequities. Mr. Davis also observed that Avery was now apparently using the maintenance-of-membership bogy for the prosaic business of thwarting a wage increase awarded by the WLB. With this revelation Avery's heroic stature shrank a little further; the odor of sweatshop methods became more distinct.

The government clearly had no alternative except seizure. Failure to act would have wrecked the WLB. It would have shattered labor confidence in that tribunal and invited a wave of strikes, affecting plants engaged directly in war production as well as civilian enterprises. Despite the insistence of some so-called left-wing C. I. O. leaders that their members will refrain from strikes regardless of provocation, no realistic labor observers believe this restraint would have been widely imitated if Avery's defiance had succeeded. The whole foundation of industrial peace rests on employer as well as employee compliance with WLB directives.

Labor unrest, growing out of delays in board procedure and strict application of the Little Steel formula, has already achieved explosive proportions in some places. One effective management sitdown strike against the board could lead to wholesale disruption on the home front.

We do not see how the federal court in Chicago, to which

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the government has appealed for an injunction restraining Avery from interfering with the seizure and requesting a declaratory judgment on the legality of the government's action, can resist the logic of the government's case. In the last Montgomery Ward dispute these issues never reached judicial settlement because the Justice Department was seemingly reluctant to run even the slightest risk of defeat. It is now clear that the issues must be settled to avoid future management rebellions. It is difficult to visualize how they can be decided in Avery's favor without creating chaos in the relations between government and labor.

Unfortunately many newspapers, having plainly lost sympathy with Avery's crusade, appear unwilling to damn him with the righteous indignation they once bestowed upon John L. Lewis. But the mildness of their current comments is at least indicative of how much ground Avery has lost. His record of distinguished disservice in World War II has been too dismal for even his best friends to contemplate. His pious sermons against the closed shop have been exposed as a camouflage for the shabbiest kind of wage chiseling. He has achieved a peculiar form of immortality in World War II: he is the only employer who has occupied the United States army on so wide a front and in so many engagements. Few people will envy him that glory.

Future of the Spanish Republic

BY JUAN NEGRIN

TONIGHT I am breaking my long silence on the Spanish cause. For I am not one of those who feel that this cause should be allowed to die with the shameful episode that precipitated the occupation of our entire national territory and the subjection of our people without conditions, helpless and manacled, to those confederates of Hitler and Mussolini who won for themselves the distinction of being the first quislings.

I have seen fit to speak out because we are now entering the decisive period in which the conduct of Spaniards, and also in part the attitudes of our friends, will determine the future of the Republic and, I might say, the very future of Spain. Until this moment, I thought it better to keep silent. My silence was self-imposed and not the result of any suggestions whatsoever, much less of any pressure, which I would never for a moment have tolerated.

I have kept silent because I did not want to add fuel to the political bickerings within the Spanish emigration. For to have agitated or tried to ventilate outside of Spain certain questions which the Spanish people alone are competent to decide would have stimulated the misunderstandings that are unhappily a feature of exile and that so easily degenerate into personalities and back-fence squabbling. This is bound to happen in exile when there is missing that great balance wheel of democracy which is the constantly exercised judgment of the people. There are some among us who feel that politics should be conducted on the level of dedication and that the ultimate goal of the man in public life is the common good. In the pursuit of this end it is advisable to take account of and avoid the frustrations and resentments that tend to develop among those whom the defeat has robbed of home and country in the great present-day diaspora of the Spanish people. To do otherwise would amount to diverting our energies from the war itself.

I have kept silent so as to center attention on the struggle against the Axis, on the outcome of which the destiny of Spain depends as much as that of any other country. For without a clear-cut victory over the Axis there would be no Spanish cause, nor would there be a Spain either, for long. The Nazi, victorious, would not only enslave their enemies, but like Saturn with his children, devour their satellites.

I have kept silent so as to be able the better to labor for the day when we the Spaniards may share with the victors in the victory for which we have sacrificed as greatly as any others. And my silence, far from signifying inactivity, was rather, by the force of circumstances, a prerequisite to securing for Spain a rightful participation in the eventual triumph of the Allies or at least to fending off the fate of being served up as a sacrificial victim in the great defeat of the Totalitarians.

Alone we fought. For three long years we stood alone, completely alone, save for the glorious participation of the volunteers of the Brigades. During those years it fell to Spain to lead the fight against the Axis and their acolytes, the rebellious military of our country.

In September, 1939, the direction of the war fell to other hands. We were prevented from mixing in it because there was still that strange determination to go on ignoring the true character and meaning of the Spanish conflict. Whether we liked the course events were taking or not, we were obliged not to interfere or even get involved any more than was necessary to stand up for our rights. This was the only way that we could hope to be heard when we had to be heard or service from us was required.

Today things have changed. The war is nearing its end. The death agony of the enemy may drag on, but final defeat is unavoidable. The setbacks of the moment can be likened to the mauling a gladiator gets when he is over-confident and careless in the face of the dying monster's last convulsions.

The Spanish problem is no longer the *noli me tangere*—the great untouchable unmentionable of Allied diplomacy. Those who a few months ago were playing up to various little chieftains of the Spanish factions today cast them off disdainfully.

What I am asking is that the situation of Spain be clarified so that, after the final destruction of the Axis, we can avoid being relegated to the corner of the vanquished by the very people who brought about our defeat. And so that we may avoid the interferences by remote control and the disguised efforts of supposed friends acting unofficially; for they could handcuff the will of our people and block the peaceful transition from praetorian tyranny to the legal regime of

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liberty, tolerance, and democracy that was established by the constitution voted into being by the Spanish people in 1931.

Since as long ago as July, 1936, the government of the Spanish Republic has considered itself without interruption in a state of war with the Axis powers. It has been in fact at war with Germany and Italy from the moment when they provoked the military rebellion, made us the first victims of what was later to be called internal aggression, and then topped off their crime by invading our country with regular units of their armies and air forces. In March of 1939 the government only just managed to escape from a trap laid to assassinate its members or turn them over to the mercies of the rebels. The events of those weeks in 1939 were all part and parcel of the development of the conspiracy called Non-Intervention, which no one has qualified with such harshness and discretion as Sumner Welles in his "The Time for Decision." The February coup d'état against the Republican government was a part of the major design of Non-Intervention. So were the handing over to Franco a few weeks before of our island fortress of Minorca and the whole treacherous campaign of defeatism which, directed within the country from positions, or should I say buildings, that because of diplomatic tradition were immune to the authority of the Republic, undid our very defense mechanism in its most vital parts. But it was the Madrid coup d'état, or if you like putsch, which was the most fitting epilogue to the crude and tragic farce that was Non-Intervention.

On abandoning Spanish soil, as the result of this putsch, the government of the Republic proclaimed its legitimacy, and on arriving a few hours later in France reaffirmed it, together with the determination to fight on endlessly until it could bring about the reestablishment of the Republic which it considered overpowered, subjugated, but still very much alive.

From March to September, 1939, I never ceased admonishing and even importuning those whom my warnings might have served that the present conflict was imminent. Even more, only a very few days before the outbreak I offered the French government my services as mediator to see if there was not some solution to the fatal inability to agree between those powers who two years later were at last to be brought together into an alliance by a still more tragic necessity. What might not have been accomplished if this alliance had come into existence in 1939 instead of in 1941? I was to discover afterward, when it was already too late, that regrets were felt at not having accepted my offer.

From the very beginning, my policy, which is to say the policy of the government of the Spanish Republic, was to try to convince all concerned of the absolute necessity of building the widest possible front against Germany. A front which would include even the country to which today I am speaking —the United States of America—because we knew all along that if this war was ever to be won the United States would have to bring in her immense power and her limitless resources. The sorry truth seems to be that our persuasive abilities were not very potent and that our means of action were still less so, but the day will come when it will be proved and accepted that in this crisis in history we did absolutely everything that it was in our power to do.

But the conflagration came anyway. Our position I made clear at once—by personal overtures to the Allied governments and also by a public statement to world opinion. I called upon our fellow-Spaniards to rally to the war and to enlist wherever their services would be accepted, as volunteers. By tens of thousands they came forward. They offered their lives, these Spanish Republicans, and won undying glory at Narvik, in Syria, at Bir Hacheim, in Tunisia, in Normandy, at Paris, with the guerrillas of the French *maquis*, on the steppes of Russia, in a hundred other places. The magnitude of their effort, of their sacrifice, is well known in the navies, the merchant marines, the armies and air forces of the Allied nations and well known among the paratroops and the intelligence services also.

Here and now let me tell you that the Spaniards of the Republican emigration who volunteered to fight in Allied ranks outnumber many times—I repeat, many times—the mercenaries recruited in Spain by the gunmen of the Falange for the Blue Division that was sent to fight in Axis ranks against the Russians.

On the day of Pétain's capitulation I left France for Great Britain. I did not go in search of refuge, of asylum, for the man who is determined to carry on the fight never feels himself a refugee, never. I went to England because I wanted my physical presence to symbolize my loyalty and our loyalty to the country that then was the only champion of the common cause. And to demonstrate the faith we had in her when not too many shared it.

Spain is not, and never has been, neutral. For Spain has never let up for one second in this war. Spain is a belligerent, the first belligerent; with us this war is now going into its ninth year! Of course when I say Spain I mean the real Spain, the Spain of the Spanish people, represented by the institutions of their Republic, and not the Spain that is a mere geographical reference and that is today an occupied country precisely as Norway and Holland are occupied countries, as Belgium and France were until a few months ago.

It is in the name of this true Spain that I am speaking to you, her American friends, so as to assure you that the Spanish people are ready and able to handle their own affairs, on condition that we are let alone, on condition that our hands are not tied, on condition that we are not subjected to pressures and maneuvers from without. We do not ask for—and please get this—we do not ask for and we do not want intervention by other governments or armies. We have had two centuries of experience with foreign interventions and from them a bitter memory of all that they have cost us. And for the last of these interventions, that one that by supreme sarcasm was so hypocritically labeled Non-Intervention, we are still paying. Nor do we draw any comfort from certain recent examples of the same kind.

We would welcome and we could be grateful for the sympathy, the help, the collaboration of friends. But the intervention of power—No! Roundly no! We would only ask that no obstacles be placed in our way and that no aid be extended surreptitiously to the enemies of the Republic with arms so subtle that they cannot be matched by the meager means at our disposal. No, no intervention, please! All we ask is that the screws not be put on us to hold us down and that our future not be denied us.

But if there exists a disposition to repay the grave insult

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that was done to justice and to the rights of people in the recognition of Franco, six years ago, then the thing to do is to break with this regime on the simple grounds that it violates the expressed will of our people and is an outrage to human dignity.

Oh, I know that the bickering among Spanish Republicans has been a source of concern to many among you. And I have no desire to diminish the importance of these disagreements, for they offer direct support and comfort to the rebels. And they are pointed to by the solicitous enemies of the Republic to predict its instability in an eventual future.

But, as for our friends, let them calm their fears! Disagreement is a phenomenon common to every democracy, and one which is aggravated among exiles by the sting of misery and failure which all of us carry within ourselves. And then, too, when politicians are removed from the constant observation of the people, they run a little wild.

But let me ask you something, you Americans? Do not disagreements take place in all democracies, even sometimes in the midst of a war? Now, if the Spanish Republic were a totalitarian regime, there would be no disagreements; they would be smothered by repression and terror. We are liberals and democrats, and because we are we have got to try to overlook the spots that mar the beauty of our system and maybe clean them up or at least touch them up.

But let our friends rest assured that when the moment comes we will all of us prove capable of surmounting our animosities and our discords as we did in 1936 when the war broke over us. And rest assured also that there will be in Spain a stable, tolerant, and progressive republic, a republic without vengeance, grounded on a sweeping amnesty like the one pledged by our government during the war, with the unanimous approval of the parliament and the people, not an amnesty full of tricks and traps like those proclaimed by Franco. Our republic will be strong because it will be built upon, and cemented by, the will of the Spanish people. Because strong, it will be generous, and its generosity will draw its inspiration from the humane traditions of our people. It will bring about a nation-wide reconciliation. For without reconciliation there can be no future for the Spain that is to play her part in the creation of the new world of peace, liberty, and progress.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

HEREWITH some reflections on 1944 and resolutions for 1945:

The last three weeks gave the old year a bad name, and it departed unwept. The new year arrived without cheers, in my vicinity at least, and it must have been the same in the important places of the world at that moment—Bastogne, Rochefort, the Danube north of Budapest, Mindoro, the air over Milan, the jungles of Burma. I never knew a more restrained jubilee. The only toast was a grim one—Confusion to the enemy!—and it was heartfelt, for there were several young veterans and service men in the room.

Which illustrates the well-known fact, difficult of comprehension by the new "other half" of the world, the group that's not been in service: the farther you are from the fighting, the more you worry about the war. The best New Year's Eve I ever had was in Cairo two years ago. A hobbling Scot, a damaged Irishman, and I on crutches had a fabulous dinner at the Auberge du Turf, topping it with brandy from Cyprus that tasted like anti-freeze solution just drained from somebody's radiator. We loved it, and went back to the hospital, where the Scot produced a secret bottle of rye and we sat on the bed of a Georgia flier molesting him with a quietly maudlin version of "Auld Lang Syne," the top part taken by the pretty young night nurse. This gaiety in the face of pain and death—one of our best friends in the ward had just had his second foot amputated—was not matched in New York last week-end, and I found myself like an old bore pining for the company of Hector Thomson, Pat Hickey, Georgia Claxton, and the pretty night nurse, whose name I have forgotten.

Why shouldn't the military critics pick a Ten Best of the Year list, like the theatrical fellows? Viewing 1944 impartially, and with an admitted leaning toward the grotesque in war, one would single out:

The Red Army all year, for engaging the bulk of the German divisions, inflicting the heaviest casualties, carrying forward the greatest offensives.

The first six days of the Russian summer offensive, in which five major fortresses, including Vitebsk, were reduced.

Alexander's Italian spring offensive, combining forces from the main front and from the Anzio beachhead, which smashed and tricked the Germans below Rome and liberated that city without a battle inside its limits.

The invasion of Western Europe, for which the keen analyst Marshal Stalin provides the best citation: "One must admit that the history of war does not know any such undertaking so broad in its conception, so grandiose in its scale, and so masterly in its execution."

The one-two operation on the right flank of the beachhead when General Bradley broke through and General Patton swept out into the clear.

The remorseless, bitter advance of the British and Canadians on the left flank at Caen, which made this possible.

The British reduction of Walcheren Island, finally opening Antwerp.

The air-borne delivery of troops to Arnhem and the stand the Red Devil paratroop division made there (with an implied criticism of the operation's planners: because they sent a boy to do a man's job—a British critic said last week it was Eisenhower's fault for not following through on the ground with ten divisions, but I've heard an American criticism of Montgomery because he allegedly said he could

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handle it without American help. This illustrates the difficulty of getting intelligence in war time; also of being a military critic, if you place honesty above chauvinism).

The United States Strategic Air Force in Europe, especially for the week in February when it broke the back of the Luftwaffe.

The United States Marine Corps, especially for Saipan, Guam, and Peleliu.

The United States Pacific Fleet, especially Task Force 58, for the whole year, highlighted by the great victory in the Second Battle of the Philippine Sea.

The Japanese offensive in China, which cut the country in two and probably forced a revision of our Pacific strategy.

The German recovery in the fall, especially the December counter-offensive. A British infantry captain said, "They died very well, the Germans, as well or better than in 1940. There seems to be a good many of them left."

The bravery of American doughfoots in meeting the counter-offensive, especially at Bastogne, St. Vith, Stavelot.

The performance at year's end of some American pilots in Burma, who shattered a Japanese supply column by buzzing it and dispersing its vehicles (elephants) into the jungle.

I see the list numbers fifteen. It was a big year.

Nobody ever reads the communiqués, printed in six-point type, which is probably why there has been no public outrage over the recent batch from Rome. They are issued at Allied headquarters, and lately they have included a section called "Land Forces, Greece," starting off thus: "Good progress was made in liberating further districts in Athens." So in history the Americans bear equal responsibility with the British for killing Greeks. Consider this notice a call for public outrage.

My New Year's resolution is to have more resolution and make fewer predictions. Let us therefore neither support nor condemn Mr. Stimson for his statement that the German counter-offensive will shorten the war. It is surely enough that it has been held, that General McAuliffe said "Nuts," that General Patton successfully swung his army through a 90° change of advance, that progress toward the Meuse has been halted, that the drive to Liège has been cut off. The chances of nipping off the salient, destroying a dozen or so of the best German divisions, and therefore really shortening the war now seem slim. The terrain is bad, the lateral communications are worse, the enemy is determined to hold his gains. His aim of relieving pressure on the Aachen and Saar fronts has been achieved; plans for our winter offensive are certainly gone askew. The enemy has achieved what must have been his primary objective: to gain time, time for training new divisions, time for vengeance weapons to do further work, time in which political squabbles can further disunite the United Nations and give the enemy his only chance for a negotiated peace. Our abiding resolution for 1945 must therefore be to support our armed forces by refusing to become disunited, thereby contributing to the toast of the young veteran: Confusion to the enemy.

Fumbling with I. G. Farben

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 29

ANYONE who thinks that supervision of German industry could prove effective in preventing renewed war preparations would do well to make a study of the operations of the Alien Property Custodian in the last war and in this one. We failed miserably to prevent key German American firms from slipping back into German hands after the last war and we are failing again. If we do so poorly in supervising German concerns in the United States, is there much chance that we would do any better in supervising German concerns within the Reich?

Woodrow Wilson warned Congress on May 30, 1919, "The German chemical industry was and may well be again a thoroughly knit monopoly, capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind." Just how dangerous and insidious has been demonstrated by revelations made since Pearl Harbor of the part played by I. G. Farben, directly and through its American subsidiary, General Aniline and Film, in restricting the production in this country of a long list of basic war materials, from aluminum and magnesium to synthetic rubber and dyestuffs.

But not long after Wilson's warning, in that very same year, the Germans laid the foundation for their comeback in the dyestuff, chemical, and drug markets of the Western Hemisphere. Our first fatal step was the licensing of Kuttrof-Pickhardt and Company to resume imports from the Badische Company, one of the firms in the Reich which later formed I. G. Farben; import licenses were granted although the Chemical Foundation established by Congress held the enemy patents under which these same products could have been manufactured in this country. The second fatal step was the sale by Wilson's Alien Property Custodian of the plant and patents of the German Bayer Company, another member of the I. G. Farben family, to Sterling Products. The Sterling company promised faithfully never to permit the return of these assets to a German concern, and the Alien Property Custodian, in authorizing the sale, found "no trace of German influence—near or remote—in the company." Within a year Sterling had secretly undertaken to pay the parent Bayer company in Germany 50 per cent of its profits on Latin American drug sales.

Post-war revelations have made Mr. Roosevelt even more keenly aware of the danger than was Woodrow Wilson. The President has pledged himself on several occasions never to permit the return of seized German patents and other properties to German control. His Alien Property Custodian, Leo T. Crowley, has declared that he is faithfully carrying out these policies. In the first annual report under govern-

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ment management of General Aniline and Film, I. G. Farben's $70,000,000 American subsidiary, Crowley said "it was the government's policy that the company never should return to German ownership, German control of operations, or German influence." Yet the fact is that General Aniline and Film and its sales agent, General Dyestuffs Corporation, are being operated as closely as possible under their old pre-war policies, that the leading figure in their management is Ernest K. Halbach, a lifelong American employee of I. G. Farben and its predecessors, that this management is thwarting the President's policies and wishes, and that Halbach has been drawing $82,000 a year in salary and bonuses for his work in these now presumably publicly owned corporations.

You will be hearing more of Halbach. Some mysterious compromise is being worked out by the government to pay him for his controlling shares in General Dyestuffs, although these shares were seized and his bank accounts blocked under the Trading with the Enemy Act. Halbach's father before him was employed in the German chemical industry. Halbach himself is American born, but has worked for American affiliates of German chemical concerns ever since 1899, when he became an office boy for Pickhardt and Kuttroff, the first firm to begin reestablishment of the old German ties after the First World War. Halbach attended conferences with I. G. Farben officials in Europe in the summer of 1939 before the outbreak of war. When war began, Halbach took over the controlling stock at $100 a share, though the asset value was about $500 a share. Conditions attached to the sale prevented its resale to interests unfriendly to I. G. Farben, and it was seized by the Alien Property Custodian in June, 1942.

Through Sullivan and Cromwell, Halbach is now suing for the return of this controlling stock on the ground that the purchase in 1939 was a bona fide transfer to an American citizen. Interestingly enough, John Foster Dulles of Sullivan and Cromwell is listed in the first annual report of the Alien Property Custodian as one of the A. P. C.'s consultants. Sullivan and Cromwell are also counsel for the Schröder banking interests of London and New York, leading collaborators in helping the Nazis before the war to obtain strategic raw materials in Europe and to circumvent the anti-Nazi boycott in America. It was through the backing of the Schröder banking interests that Victor Emanuel, the New York financier, was able to get control of Aviation Corporation and Standard Gas and Electric in the '30's. Emanuel now dominates the boards of directors appointed by the Alien Property Custodian to manage General Aniline and Film and General Dyestuffs. Leo T. Crowley, who resigned as Alien Property Custodian last year after these ties were first disclosed by this correspondent in *PM* and *The Nation*, was recently reelected to his $75,000-a-year job as head of Standard Gas and Electric. His former deputy and successor as Alien Property Custodian, James E. Markham, was reelected at the same time as a director of Standard Gas, a job for which he is paid $4,850 a year while drawing $10,000 a year in salary from the government.

This whole situation cries out for Congressional investigation. No one knows, for example, who were the unnamed customers for whom the Schröder bank in London bought 300,000 shares of stock in Cord Corporation in August, 1937, enabling Emanuel to take control and reorganize the concern as Aviation Corporation. This is a key war concern, and a very profitable one. No one knows why these unnamed customers—all of them—suddenly decided to sell these shares late in 1939. No one knows the circumstances of the sale or the interests to whom the sale was made, or how it happens that so huge a block of stock was sold without bringing any change in the management.

Much is unknown, but a little has leaked out. We do know that on receipt of cables from I. G. Farben after the war began Halbach at once took steps to take care of Farben's old Latin American outlets. We know that General Aniline and Film tried to sell its controlling stock to General Dyestuffs to avoid seizure but that the Treasury blocked the sale. We know that after General Dyestuffs was taken over, Halbach was retained by Colonel Louis Johnson, the West Virginia corporation lawyer and former assistant Secretary of War whom Crowley appointed president of the concern at $75,000 a year. We know that Colonel Johnson insisted on keeping Halbach on even after many protests from within the office of Alien Property Custodian, that Halbach was ostensibly paid $36,000 a year but that a few weeks ago the government learned he had actually been drawing $82,000 a year in salary and bonuses.

We know that the Emanuel-dominated managements of these two interlocking companies and Halbach have succeeded in preventing the government from voiding the old cartel contracts with I. G. Farben, and that they have thwarted the program by which the President and Sumner Welles promised to help Latin American countries to replace old Axis-controlled drug and chemical firms with new firms owned by their own nationals. We know that after a behind-the-scenes struggle within the Office of the Alien Property Custodian the replacement division of the office was abolished, and that in Brazil and Mexico General Dyestuffs is dealing with men and firms suspect by reason of old ties to I. G. Farben.

The most amazing aspect of the story as it is developing is the government's embarrassment over its own fatuity. If there were reasons to block Halbach's accounts and seize his stock, one would think the same reasons would dictate his removal from any position of influence with the old I. G. Farben firms. But Halbach can go into court and point to the fact that for two and a half years he has virtually run General Dyestuffs under government management, and he can point to the advisory position on dyestuffs to which he was appointed shortly after Pearl Harbor by Sidney P. Weinberg of Goldman, Sachs, as evidence of his reliability. He can, that is, if he wishes to subject himself to public cross-examination. The whole case calls for the most drastic kind of shake-up—a new Alien Property Custodian and new managements in both General Aniline and General Dyestuffs. No one accuses Emanuel, Johnson, Crowley, or Markham of Nazi sympathy. But whatever their intentions, the activities of the present and past Custodian and the managements tend in but one direction. As one exasperated subordinate protested in a private memo to Markham, "We might in fact just be doing a nice job of holding this market for the Germans."

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Britain—Sixth Winter

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WHEN I arrived in England, it had just become clear that the hopes raised by the swift rush of the Allied armies through France and Belgium were premature, that no early collapse of Germany could be expected, that the discomforts, the shortages, and the strains of war must be endured for months to come. Moreover, it was apparent that the capture of the "rocket coast" had not ended the dangers of war for the civilian population; southern England was still within range of the enemy's vengeance weapons and faced continued desultory bombardment. Disappointed but not discouraged, certain that victory was only postponed, Britons were bracing themselves for the sixth winter of war.

The watchword was still "austerity," a word which summarizes with characteristic understatement the whole process of stripping the civilian economy as nearly as possible to the bare bones. Statistically, its meaning is made plain by the very impressive White Paper on Britain's war effort published at the end of November. But it is only when cold figures are translated into terms of actual human experience that they acquire life and meaning.

According to the White Paper, total personal expenditure on consumption, reduced to pre-war prices, is only 79 per cent of what it was in 1938. In the non-food categories the fall is much more striking: clothing and dress materials, 55 per cent; boots and shoes, 73 per cent; furniture and furnishings, 23 per cent; hardware, 33 per cent. When I read these figures I see them expressing Britain's desperate shabbiness. Houses groan for paint, furniture for new covers. A broken cup becomes a minor tragedy; it cannot be replaced except, possibly, by thick, plain-white "utility ware." New furniture is reserved for the bombed-out and newly married couples; second-hand furniture commands huge prices, as do second-hand clothes, which can be bought without coupons.

"Mend and make do," say the posters, and even well-to-do men go around with patches on the elbows of their business suits. Women, with great ingenuity, turn and remodel their own and their children's clothes. My English sister-in-law sported a very handsome housecoat, which she had made from an oddment of curtain brocade, until the pre-war zipper, taken from another garment, refused to function. That again was a tragedy, for zippers can be neither obtained nor repaired.

Service and spare parts for household equipment are very hard to come by, and for this reason many electrical appliances are out of commission for the duration. At the home in which I stayed the refrigerator broke down, and it was a month before an electrician could be found to make the simple repair needed to set it going. Cleaning is a problem, with soap rationed and the supply of household brushes and brooms, according to the White Paper, reduced to less than half the 1935 quantity.

This is what austerity means in terms of keeping the home together. So far as food is concerned, the caloric values are adequate, and there is a sufficient if not ample supply of the protective foods, but the diet is apt to be monotonous. The housewife who attempts to give an appearance of variety to her family menus has no easy task. And shopping is a long and weary business when everything must be carried home and one must wait in queues for any off-ration extras such as fish.

To return to the White Paper: in the table showing imports of raw materials my eye is caught by an item of professional interest. In 1939, 423,000 tons of newsprint were imported; in 1943, 95,000 tons—less than a quarter. Domestic production is only 15 per cent of 1935. One has to see the sadly attenuated British newspapers and experience the difficulties of buying them to appreciate these figures. When I first reached London I found it hard to keep up with the news, for I could neither arrange for the daily delivery of the papers I wanted nor buy them at the newsstands. The *Times* and the *Telegraph,* I was told, had long waiting lists of would-be subscribers, and the same situation prevailed with the leading weeklies—the *New Statesman and Nation* and the *Economist.* Eventually, after a direct appeal to the circulation manager of the *Times,* I was permitted as a special courtesy to obtain a daily copy of that paper.

Here, then, are some indications of the costs to the civilian economy of Britain's mobilization of man-power and resources for war, a mobilization begun more than five years ago and steadily intensified until the present moment. The details of that mobilization and of the achievements it has made possible, as given in the White Paper, have been widely publicized, and there is no need to repeat them here. It is sufficient to emphasize that of the gross national product less than one-third is available for private consumption, and that of the labor employed in the manufacturing industries only one-fifth is now working for the home market.

It is a matter for argument whether the White Paper justifies the claim of Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, that "the total war effort of the population of Great Britain per head is greater than that of any other belligerent." Such implied comparisons are invidious and irrelevant. What does matter is that Britain's effort has been whole-hearted and full-muscled and one which neither defeats nor victories have slackened or discouraged.

Many people in Britain, while not making light of their own hardships, are aware that the lot of the occupied and liberated countries is infinitely worse. The British diet may be dull, but it is ample to sustain health and energy, and when the Food Ministry announced extra Christmas rations it received thousands of letters protesting any increase while the needs of the liberated countries remained so great. Fuel may be short, but it is possible to keep at least one room

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in each dwelling fairly warm; railroad and bus travel is exceedingly uncomfortable much of the time, but the service is maintained.

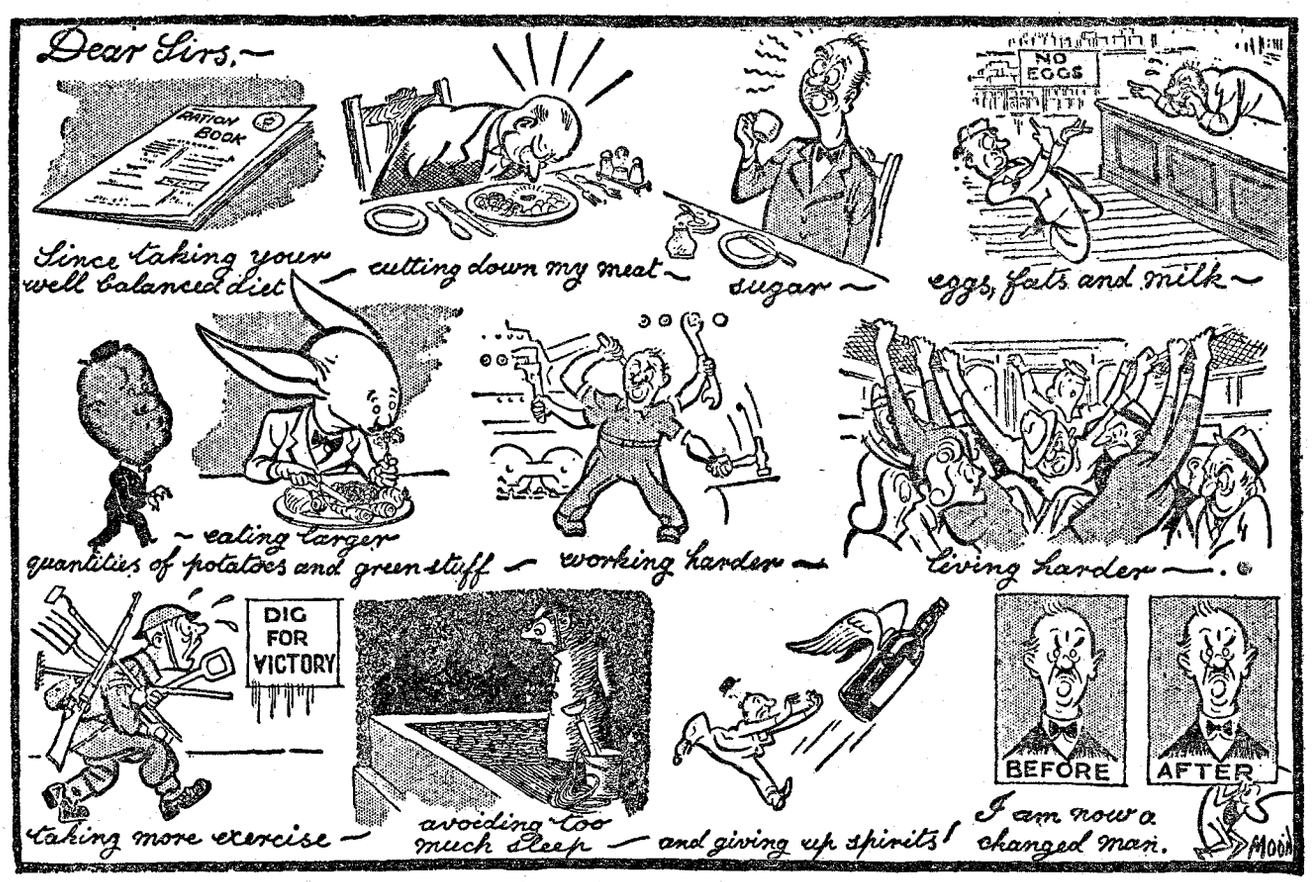
Visitors from shivering and hungry Paris find London a paradise. Londoners, on the other hand, look across the Atlantic rather enviously. The tales of travelers and homesick American soldiers about the bright lights and plenty of American cities lose nothing in the retelling. "Is there any rationing in America?" I was frequently asked. "Are there any shortages?" I did my best to talk convincingly of the scarcity of butter, shoes, cigarettes, and gasoline, but had to admit that our shortages were partial and intermittent rather than total.

It has been America's great good fortune that its staggering productive capacity has made possible both a gigantic output of war material and the maintenance of a comparatively high level of civilian consumption. It has been its greater good fortune that, except for Pearl Harbor, its soil has been immune to enemy attack. The fact that Britain has been in the front line for five long years has meant constant interference with production and the diversion of a great deal of man-power to civil defense and the carrying out of essential repairs. The White Paper does not mention the number of industrial establishments damaged in enemy raids, and while I have been given the figures, I am not allowed to publish them. But I can say that they make Britain's productive effort still more impressive.

The White Paper does report, however, that up to August 31, 1944, 57,298 civilians had been killed by enemy action and 136,116 seriously injured. I read these figures thinking of the once pretty girl whose face is now hideously scarred by splintered glass; or of the friend who, on A. R. P. duty nearby, saw his home demolished by a direct hit and knew that the old servant and the two friends to whom he had given shelter could not hope to survive. When I note that 202,000 houses in the United Kingdom have been totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair and that an additional 4,328,000 have been damaged more or less seriously, I see this figure in concrete terms. It means homeless people sleeping in rest centers, people living in the one corner of their home which they have managed to make comparatively weatherproof, families uncomfortably doubled up with relatives. It means twisted and burnt remnants of furniture the purchase of which represented long years of scraping and saving; it means cherished collections of books and pictures gone forever.

Nor do the statistics of casualties and damage cover the sum total of human suffering in a country subjected to air attack. When one notices how few children are to be seen in London's streets and parks, one thinks of how many heartaches, how much lost security, can be implied in the word "evacuee." The breaking up of homes, the long separation of parents and children, the difficulties of adjustment among strangers, however kind—these are war costs which no White Paper can possibly assess.

After five years it still goes on. In early September a government spokesman declared triumphantly that the danger of air raids was over for all practical purposes. The Luftwaffe, struggling to defend its homeland, seemed unlikely



The Ministry of Health says that the nation is healthier than before the war

Courtesy the London *Sunday Dispatch*

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to be able to regain the offensive sufficiently to renew the blitz in its original form. The capture of the bases in northern France and Belgium had, it was thought, ended the flying-bomb menace which had given southern England so nerve-racking a summer. This optimism proved premature. Within a few days robot bombs again started to come over, though not in anything like the same numbers as before. German ingenuity had found a method of launching them from planes, and some managed to penetrate the highly efficient defenses and scatter death and destruction in the wide target area.

Simultaneously a new menace developed, against which there appeared to be no defense and for which no warning could be given. Southern England began to get accustomed to sudden loud explosions followed by a long rumble. Nothing was said in the press, and if you asked for an official explanation you were told "gas-main explosions." But everybody talked about them, and everybody knew that V-2 had arrived, the real rocket bomb which travels through the stratosphere and descends at a speed greater than that of sound. The noise of its bursting is therefore the first warning; the after-rumble is caused by its rush through the last few thousand feet of air registering on the ear after its contact with the ground.

People took V-2 surprisingly calmly. Nearly everybody said that it was much more bearable than V-1, which created a minute or two of suspense between the time its approach was first heard and the cutting-out of its motor. Then followed, for all within a wide radius, an interval of interminable seconds before the explosion came. When this experience had to be endured many times a day, as it did at the height of the buzz-bomb terror, even the stoutest nerves were lacerated. A friend of mine who fought in France during the last war and had been in the thick of the 1940-41 blitz as a civil-defense officer told me that he had found buzz-bombs much harder to take than any other form of sudden death he had faced.

When one hears a V-2 one is safe; those who are killed never know what hit them. But to the imaginative it is not a pleasant sensation to be awakened in the middle of the night by one of these masterpieces of science and to lie thinking of the unlucky ones who were underneath and wondering where the next one will strike. Unable to get to sleep again, one goes on to consider what it would be like if such missiles began to fall, not occasionally and at irregular intervals, but every few minutes. And that, one realizes, is the kind of bombardment we must anticipate if we are weak and foolish enough to permit another war. At such moments Dumbarton Oaks does not seem a very impressive feat of statesmanship.

The difficulty lies in transmitting experiences of this kind to those out of range. Even in Britain outside the area under fire there is a distinct difference in attitude. In one way the immediate danger is exaggerated; people in safe districts feel that to go to London is a perilous and foolhardy adventure. Yet they are somehow detached emotionally from the experience of their countrymen in the danger zone and a trifle complacent about it; they cannot fully grasp an ordeal which they do not share. How, then, can one make New York and Chicago understand?

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU'S statement in the Chamber of Deputies, on December 23, regarding the proposed Allied policy toward Russia does not differ in substance from previous declarations of French statesmen on that subject, nor, in general, from the policy which the Allies have all along pursued. There is to be neither peace nor compromise with the Soviet government; Russia is to be hemmed in as by a barbed-wire fence; and the Poles, Rumanians, and other peoples whom Russia has attacked or may attack are to be aided. Wherever Bolshevism shows itself, there the Allies will join in resisting it.—*January 3, 1920.*

THE EXTRAORDINARY MELODRAMA which the world has been witnessing in Fiume during the past few months seems to have taken a turn toward farce. . . . The world needs a guaranty of immunity not only from civil strife but also from further D'Annunzio proclamations.—*January 10, 1920.*

LAST SUNDAY the country was treated to the interesting news that the impending revolution in America had been nipped in the bud. "Red Raids Smash Revolutionary Coup"—so ran the headlines. As many as twenty-five rifles and four bombs were captured in the entire state of New Jersey alone, and of 675 prisoners in New York, 201 were held and the rest released. Girls fourteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age were arrested in various places as criminal anarchists, and women were sent to the overcrowded Ellis Island quarters, although the acting Commissioner of Immigration protested that it was neither decent nor sanitary to have more women there. The total number of arrests in this most spectacular of "red" raids thus far will probably be not less than 6,000.—*January 10, 1920.*

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES had again joined in the game of making additional Socialists and increasing the popular unrest by once more refusing a seat to Mr. Victor L. Berger [Socialist, Wisconsin] on the ground of his "disloyalty" during the war. . . . The attempt of the Assembly of the State of New York to shut out the five Socialists who were elected last November has evidently disturbed a great many people who hitherto have watched with apathy or satisfaction the increasingly lawless attempts to coerce opinion in the United States.—*January 17, 1920.*

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY is one of uncertainty and menace. While Berlin and the other areas of disaffection are quiet under the menace of Noske's guns, the quiet can be counted upon to last only so long as these guns are held in readiness.—*January 24, 1920.*

THE CALIFORNIA dark horse has moved to the front in the Presidential race about a month before the scheduled time. Mr. Hoover's candidacy has received a tremendous impetus.—*January 31, 1920.*

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Tomorrow the Movies

I. HOLLYWOOD INTERNATIONAL

BY JOHN GRIERSON

IF, AS many believe, the basis of international relationships is in course of drastic alteration, industries trading in foreign parts must examine the nature of this change. I am told, for example, that Bretton Woods must inevitably revolutionize the fishing industry in Canada because multilateral agreements preclude bilateral agreements and we can no longer "sneak behind," say, the back of Newfoundland: meaning, I take it, that the race is no longer exclusively to the strong or the smart. In the case of the fishing industry the situation calls, it is said, for a revolution in production and distribution methods which, by improving the product and meeting a real and not spurious taste, will give it greater international validity.

The analogy between films and fish should not be lightly dismissed. I could cite the case of the people of London, whose taste has been so perverted over the years that if they ever tasted a fresh fish they would certainly reject it as rotten. Both films and fish are obviously fields of illusion where standards, however widely accepted, may yet be false. The test, however, should not be the taste but the well-being of the consumer. What is called for in fish I shall now forget and consider instead, the economic relations of the film industry, the nature of its past bilateral and even unilateral arrangements, and the effect of the multilateral pressure which will presently be put upon it by nations with their own standards of nutriment.

The film has always been an international traveler. It had no trouble with national barriers when it was silent, and even now titles, dubbed-in voices, and foreign-language versions can give it an extensive market outside its country of origin. Where, as in the case of American films, the home market takes care of the cost of production, the costs of conversion are not a considerable obstacle. In any event, the English-speaking world provides an international market in itself. Of all films, those of American origin have been the most widely circulated, partly because of their style and the enterprise of their salesmen, but mostly because of the economic advantage of their very large home market. The American producer has been able to command directors, actors, and writers from all over the world and so to provide pictures with international appeal. Even when he has been most American, he has had large enough funds to produce a highly polished, chromium-plated account of his country's material progress; and this, in the years gone by, had its special attraction for less privileged peoples.

TRADE FOLLOWS THE PICTURE

To what extent this American film empire can be maintained is another matter. Great Britain has always envied the strength of the American film industry, not least because of the vast propaganda support it gave to the sale of American products. The persistent champion of English film production has not been the industry itself, which in the distribution and exhibition fields does very well out of American films and is allied at many points to American companies, but the British Board of Trade, which is concerned with the trade that follows the picture. England's protective policy has therefore been different in kind from that of countries like Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Soviet Union. These latter had specific political ideas to protect from the anarchic impact—as they no doubt conceived it—of Hollywood values. England, however, has been primarily concerned with building up an exportable product which would share screen space abroad with American films and fly the flag of England over incidental automobiles and bathtubs. Sir Alexander Korda, Carol Reed, Michael Powell, and other good British producers would of course hardly think this a sufficient account of their production motives; but it would be safe to say that the clerks of Whitehall have had more to do with the formulation of long-time film policy than the producers.

The relationship between the government and the industry is different in England from here if only because the industry is coming from behind in international competition and has needed government help. Britain has for a long time required American operators in the United Kingdom to carry a specific proportion of British product. And the government has entered boldly into an analysis of the kind of British film most likely to serve British interests abroad. As a result it has given special encouragement, not to the small budgeted film, which on the whole tends to be very English, but to the sometimes denatured million-dollar type for which international markets are an economic necessity. It has observed with great equanimity the expenditure of very large sums during the period of experimental growth, on the good ground that only by trial and error can the larger showmanship be learned. Even in the midst of war, large quasi-experimental sums are being found.

The relative strength of the British film industry is certainly greater today than it has been for years. A very large proportion of British buying power has been combined under A. J. Rank, a miller of great wealth who has only recently gone into the film business; and the same group of interests has announced its intention of progressively buying into theater and distribution systems across the world, particularly in the dominions and colonies. A different official attitude toward the industry might not so easily have allowed the large combination of buying power in the hands of one man or approved such expensive production schemes at the present time; and public opinion might be unfavorable if there were not good assurance that Mr. Rank's great venture was going to be in every sense a national one.

The strength of this new buying power is reflected at present in new and more effective arrangements for the dis-

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tribution of British films in the United States. The fact that, in general, the British market constitutes the margin of real profit in American film production has at last been turned into a strong bargaining weapon. This is not to say that British films will be any more successful than before—that depends on the drawing power of the films themselves—but it is important that the distribution machinery of the United States is being increasingly engaged for films other than American.

This development is only one among many likely to affect American policy in the international field. The old days of easy monopoly have gone: in England, because of its special need for markets, but also in every country which has come to appreciate the power of the screen and has its own national interests to serve. There is a growing tendency everywhere to encourage home production. Increasing attention is being paid to the effect of American films on the mind of the people and to their relation to native philosophies and needs. On the one hand, foreign countries want Hollywood to include more native themes in its schedules of production; on the other hand, they are becoming more sensitive about the handling of such themes. In nothing is the spectacular growth of propaganda consciousness better demonstrated.

Obviously, Hollywood will require a new approach in its international operations. In the past its salesmen have done very well for it. The need tomorrow may be for representatives who can go behind the mere problem of sales to the problem of international relations and build up, as statesmen try to do, those genuinely good relations which are based on common interests.

RELATIONS WITH CANADA

One might generalize in this regard from the situation in Canada, a country of 12,000,000 people which provides as great returns to the American film industry as all of South America with a population of 75,000,000. The tastes in entertainment of Canadians are much the same as those of people south of their border; because of the connection with England an English film will perhaps do 5 per cent better in Canada, relatively, than in the United States, but this is a small difference. By and large, Canadians like the same stars, the same story line, and the same evaluations of character and issue as other Americans; Canada's own share of Hollywood stars, directors, and writers is considerable, and no one there or here knows the difference.

It might seem, therefore, that the American film could circulate as easily and happily in Canada as in its own country. But such an assumption on the part of the American film industry would be lacking in foresight. Canada is an up-and-coming nation. It feels that it has a tremendous future. It is already, it thinks, one of the greatest of the "middle" nations, and its huge agricultural and industrial output during the war and its contribution in fighting power support its claim. Inevitably, therefore, Canada is giving consideration to its place on the international screen. It certainly cannot leave its reputation entirely in the hands of the newsreel editors in New York and the producers in Hollywood, who might be so shortsighted as not to think of Canada at all.

Canada's attitude toward American films may well be an example to other countries, especially those whose native film industries are of limited strength. The natural good-will existing between Canada and the United States has made it possible for Canada to secure from cooperative discussions as much as if not more than a protective system and a competitive film industry could have given it. The Canadian content of American newsreels in Canada has been increased in recent years to a point near to satisfactory, and, just as importantly, the Canadian content in American and world newsreels has also been increased. American distributors in Canada are not only cooperating well with the government in the presentation of the nation's war effort but making it a matter of policy to obtain for Canada its measure of film representation. As a result one series of Canadian-produced short films, "The World in Action," enjoys worldwide circulation—incidentally, it is the only foreign series now shown regularly in American theaters. American companies, moreover, include numerous Canadian films in their travel talks, science films, and the like.

In addition to this cooperation in the matter of newsreels and short films, Hollywood has over the war years produced three major Canadian films and used Canadian backgrounds for others as part of an earnest attempt to provide a quid pro quo for a very useful market. Like the Hollywood productions for South American markets encouraged by the State Department, this marks the beginning of a new and responsible policy toward foreign fields. The development of such a policy would be facilitated if countries like Canada would not only bring political pressure to bear on Hollywood and London but establish machinery for the encouragement of stories and plays that would of themselves command the attention of producers.

Of course in every country there will always be some who want to see a native feature industry established and who consequently demand protective quotas. But the international field tends to be kept clear for Hollywood and London by the fact that feature production imposes tremendous financial burdens, especially for a country with a small population. It is all the more difficult for a country which is not protected by the barrier of a different language and which lies within easy reach of the pull of American salaries and other attractions.

It seems clear that the American film industry has come to the most difficult period in its long international career. Its problems reflect the foreign problems of statesmen and demand a new and high degree of international knowledge and good-will. Concessions here and lobbyings there, such as the cruder exponents of international commerce may propose, will not suffice. Hand-outs, however well-intentioned, do not please sovereign peoples, and there is a sure law of diminishing returns on political pressure when applied by great nations. International success in a sphere of influence so extensive as that of films will demand finally, as in the political sphere, considered and creative cooperation in the pursuit of common values and common ideas. Great nations with superior means of production must be expected to take the lead in this matter.

It is not certain whether Hollywood and London have gone far enough in equipping themselves for this new and considerable task, although progress has been made. Hollywood is more politically conscious today that it ever was. Many of its principals are engaged in war duties of impor-

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tance and know what it is to serve the state. But this may not be enough. Closer contact needs to be established with the body of international knowledge in Washington; and it is the best of news that this is now being deliberately furthered by a scheme for installing government film specialists abroad. There is certainly room for a diplomatic force which will not just support Hollywood sales power but will supply systematic information to Hollywood producers on the larger considerations governing their foreign trade. It may be that Hollywood needs an institute of international affairs through which producers, directors, and writers can study the relationship of their films to the wider and more difficult world in which they will operate after the war. There are clearly other levels of consideration than those of buying and selling, and neither Hollywood nor London will be able to ignore them.

[*This is the first of a series of four articles. The second, Pictures Without Theaters, also by Mr. Grierson, will appear next week.*]

Two Terrorists on Trial

BY GEROLD FRANK

Jerusalem, December 23 (by cable)

WITH the police investigations virtually concluded, the trial of the youthful terrorists Aliahu Hakim and Ephraim Ben Zuri for the murder of Lord Moyne is expected within a fortnight. The feeling here is that the execution of the two men, both members of the small but vicious Stern gang, is inevitable: they have admitted going to Cairo to kill Moyne, and in Egypt the penalty for murder is hanging. The only question now is what political significance can be given to the trial.

Hakim and Ben Zuri will be tried before a tribunal of five civilian judges sitting in a civilian court under martial law. The proceedings will be conducted in Arabic with translations in Hebrew—the prisoners refuse to speak anything else—and in English. The public will be admitted to the trial by ticket. The prisoners have announced that they will conduct their own defense, as members of the Stern group have done in the Palestine courts. However, Hakim's father has said that while he recognized that his son committed a reprehensible deed, bringing shame and tragedy to all Palestine, he could not, as a father, have peace if he did not do all in his power in his son's behalf. He has therefore asked the well-known Jerusalem attorney, Asher Levitsky, to go to Cairo to defend the young men. Levitsky has not disclosed whether or not he will accept the case.

If the prisoners handle their own case, some idea of their defense can be gained from the books they have requested from the Egyptian authorities and are now studying in their cell. These include the Bible, a modern revolutionary history of Egypt, the Egyptian penal code, a volume by Beilinson which describes Italy's freedom fighters of 1815-17, and the Peel report.

Speculation about the trial revolves around two points: First, who if anybody backs these terrorists? Is some other country using them as pawns in an anti-British game. Second, the background and political program of the terrorists, who, it must be remembered, belong politically to the extreme right-wing nationalists and are denounced as "fascist" by the Labor Party, which constitutes the majority of the Jewish electorate in Palestine. It is believed that the prisoners will attempt to use the trial as a rostrum from which to proclaim to the world what they consider Great Britain's betrayal of its promise to Zionism. The harangues of other prisoners tried in the military courts here have been given the fullest publicity in local anti-labor newspapers.

What the prisoners say may have a bad effect on emotional Jewish youngsters in Palestine, but it must be emphasized that Zionists do not see this as another Sacco-Vanzetti case. Terrorism is abhorred here on political as well as humane grounds. The prisoners do not represent Palestine; yet they serve to highlight Palestine's grievances.

In the Wind

RALPH G. CARPENTER, director of the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department, in an interview with the *Concord Daily Monitor and New Hampshire Patriot* on December 1, offered the following suggestions for the economic reabsorption of World War II veterans: (1) "A few of them might well hunt and raise porcupines, commonly known as quill pigs, if they have the ingenuity to find a market for their meat." (2) "Yankee shrewdness, coupled with vision and patience, might well create a new and profitable market for quill pens, which once were the only kind used in signing official documents. Quills from ducks have been used in the past, but it is quite possible that turkeys' quills, white or black, might be used if the idea were properly cultivated."

A GENTILE BUSINESS DIRECTORY is being compiled in Chicago. The letterhead of the promoters bears this motto: "Millions of Gentiles Banded Together to Preserve the Gentile Way of Life, Gentile Business Ethics, Gentile Educational Systems, Gentile Moral Standards." The address is in the heart of the financial district.

CAPTAIN LUCIEN A. DUMAIS, a French Canadian from Montreal, has recently returned to London after nine months' work with the French *maquis*. He was one of seventy Canadians who parachuted into different parts of France to help organize resistance to the Germans prior to the Allied invasion. He said it was "exciting work, but too much administrative detail."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi propaganda machine in Norway has abandoned its campaign to convince the people that the forced evacuation of the northern part of the country was a "flight from Bolshevik terror." The stories of the evacuees are so uniformly unfavorable to the Germans that they have been ordered not to talk. The penalty is death. . . . A report from Prague has it that the wives of the S. S. men have been supplied with revolvers and hand grenades.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Yenan, 1945

BY PACIFICUS

AMERICAN newspapers virtually ignored the two-week session of the Second People's Congress held at the beginning of December in the bustling terraced city of Yenan, nerve center of the Communist-led Border Regions of North China. Their boycott, maintained in the face of daily broadcasts by the Yenan transmitter, recalled their earlier silence on Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Partisans.

There can be little doubt that the actions stemming from the congress will make a deep imprint upon political and military developments in 1945, even beyond the Border Regions with their, at present, 90,000,000 inhabitants. It is not too rash to predict that before the year is out Yenan, and not Chungking, will be the center of military and political power in China. It will gain this position through the superior ability of the Yenan forces, which have fought an anti-fascist war in an anti-fascist manner, to exploit the opportunities offered by the changed military situation.

The Generalissimo's recent house-cleaning is a sign that he recognizes how fundamentally the situation has changed. Previously he had believed that he would be rescued from his military and political predicament when the Americans landed somewhere along the southern coast to drive the Japanese out of China as a prelude to an attack on Japan proper. This, he thought, would enable him to deal simultaneously with the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Route armies. His hopes were deflated when the Japanese, influenced by their severe shipping and naval losses, launched a major campaign in South China to open a north-south railroad and were so successful that a landing on the China coast appeared less inviting to the Americans.

Additional Japanese naval losses off the Philippines changed the whole strategic concept of the Pacific war. Early in 1944 Admiral Nimitz had stated that he intended to strike for a Chinese port in order to attack Japan in China. After the Philippine naval battles Admiral King told Forrest Davis of the *Saturday Evening Post* that we could now attack Japan directly. This change in strategy means that the ejection of Japanese troops from China will probably follow rather than precede an invasion of Japan proper. In consequence, a weakened Chungking will have to depend for a longer time on its own resources, plus the small amount flown "over the Hump."

Japan's fighting power will inevitably diminish during 1945. The comparative ability of Chungking and Yenan to exploit the opportunities thus opened will be a test of their strength—of their popular support, their military resources, and their administrative and organizational ability.

That Yenan recognized the immediate possibilities was made clear at the congress. Lin Tsu-han, chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, formerly a colleague of Sun Yat-sen and recently one of the negotiators with Chungking, told the delegates, "Fascism is at the point of collapse; victory for the democracies is already in sight." With that perspective the Congress devoted its self-critical efforts to mobilizing the people's strength for the final liberation of China.

Behind the entire discussion was the conviction that an improvement in living standards was basic to the solution of all other questions. The keystone of such improvement was held to be agrarian reform, which as put through in the Border Regions has increased production and decreased tenant-landlord strife. Rents have been reduced, in stages, from 50 or 60 per cent of the crop to 35 or 40 per cent, but at the same time the landlord has been guaranteed his rent. And since taxes have also been reduced, his position has not been worsened. Furthermore, his lessened income from tenantry has tended to push the landlord into becoming an agricultural producer himself or investing in the small local industries which the government encourages by keeping them tax free and guaranteeing a minimum profit.

The government's intention to improve the lot of the tenant and small peasant and at the same time to retain the support of the landlord was evident in the remarks of Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, at the opening session: "Rents have been reduced," he said, "in every area, but in certain places less has been achieved than in others. Cases still occur of nominal but not real reductions. On the other hand, in some cases rents have been reduced too much, and no attention is paid to the payment of rent after reduction. Both . . . tendencies must be corrected." Nan Han-chen, head of the Finance Department of the Border Government, revealed that less than half of the expenses of the government is met by taxes. The rest is contributed by agricultural and industrial production carried on by the army and the government. In order to ease the tax burden further a progressive agricultural tax is being tried in three counties as a prelude to wider application.

The Communists reiterated their resolve to limit themselves to one-third of the places on administrative bodies. The only known exception to the rule is the Yenan Municipal Council, seventeen of whose forty-seven members are Communists. One of the seventeen is the Japanese Communist Shisuo Koji, who is active in the Japanese People's Emancipation League headed by Susumu Okano. Among the non-Communist members twenty-one are non-partisan, five are Kuomintang members, two are Protestants, and one is a Catholic.

Speaking to the congress on the subject of political collaboration, Mao Tse-tung said:

> The basis of anti-Japanese national salvation is the national united front. In liberated areas this expresses itself first of all in the "one-to-three system," under which all classes and all parties and groups cooperate. Some

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> have done good work in this field, but some have not, and the experiences of every area should be appraised.
>
> Communists must frequently deliberate and hold meetings with other parties and non-party groups. The aim is to break down barriers, clear away misunderstandings, and correct any bad relations, so that all will cooperate in administration and public work. Anyone who takes part in the representative council's work or performs other public duties, will be respected and hold the post with authority, no matter what party or group he belongs to.

This policy of encouraging the emergence of non-Communist—but not anti-Communist—leadership, together with the policy of conciliating landlords, has tremendously broadened the base of the Yenan regime. While the Communist Party remains the regime's hard core, an increasing number of other interests are coalescing around it, and the Communists have had to modify their sectarian character.

One of the most important decisions of the congress was to increase the numerical strength of the regular forces of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Route armies—as distinguished from the irregular or partisan forces—from 475,000 to 650,000, and to plan a further increase as the Border Regions are able to support it and arms can be obtained. Mao Tse-tung called also for other improvements, though the fighting qualities of the Yenan troops long since aroused the enthusiasm of foreign observers, among them Colonel Evans F. Carlson of the Makin Raiders:

> Old areas must replenish the losses of their original armies. New areas should expand the number of troops furnished as economic conditions permit. But whether expanding or replenishing, areas must not increase the financial burden of the people. This point must be carefully kept in mind. Otherwise, we shall fail.
>
> The internal unity of the army is very important. Our Eighth Route and New Fourth armies have always relied on the solidarity of officers and soldiers to win our glorious victories. But some of the military habits of the Chinese war lords still persist among our troops. Bad relations between officers and soldiers, such as betting, cursing, neglecting food supply or soldiers' diseases, not using patient education and persuasion in correcting the mistakes of soldiers, punishing freely, and even such wrong attitudes as insulting and shooting deserters, etc., must be thoroughly rooted out in 1945.

As a result of basing its military strength on a rising standard of living and the people's increasing participation in the government, the Yenan regime has been able to retake from the Japanese areas inhabited by 88,000,000 Chinese—about one-fifth the population of pre-war China. During the last year it recaptured parts of the strategic peninsula of Shantung containing 5,000,000 people. In contrast, Chungking has not only lost territory but has seen tens of thousands of its soldiers—150,000 in North China alone—go over to the Japanese.

The growing strength of Yenan plus the changed military situation in the Pacific presents Chungking with very difficult alternatives. Shall it grant the Communist demand for a genuine coalition government based on agrarian reform and political democracy, or shall it look among the collaborationist followers of Wang Ching-wei for support against the Communists? Needless to say, the latter course would almost certainly bring on a civil war which would indefinitely delay China's progress toward prosperity and independence.

Inflation in Europe

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE economic reconstruction of Europe after the military collapse of Nazi Germany will be at best extremely difficult; if Britain and America continue the policies they have followed thus far, the results may be disastrous. One of the worst dangers facing every European country after the war is inflation; and Anglo-American policy in the liberated regions has encouraged its start and its growth.

Concerning the situation in Italy, Marcello Soleri, Minister of Finance in the first Bonomi government, declared, "Everything is scarce in Italy but paper money." The condition of the currency is a nightmare; it worries responsible people in the Allied Commission and the Italian government even more, if possible, than the shortage of food. The Anglo-American administration, however, is largely to blame. The value of the lira in relation to the dollar has been set far too low—100 lire to $1. Under the Germans the purchasing power of the lira was a great deal higher.

Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote in the New York *Times:*

> Italy is obliged to accept an imposed rate, which has had the same effect as if the American government suddenly reduced the value of a dollar to 20 cents. Prices immediately soared to meet the new rate and are rising steadily beyond it, so that they are exorbitant even for an American with his one-cent lira. The Italian with an income of 1,500 to 3,000 lire, which represents a fair average for the lower middle classes, might just as well be unemployed as try to exist on his earnings.

In other words, the growing inflation has already reduced a large part of the Italian middle class to indigence; they can no longer live on their salaries, and their savings have been almost wiped out.

The rise in prices has been incomparably greater than the rise in wages. George Baldanzi of the C. I. O., who recently spent some time in Italy, has reported cases of Italian workers who were paid $6 a month. This, he said, was less than they got under the Nazis or the Fascists. The inflation, however, is a good thing for the rich landowners, who by means of the black market have boosted the prices of the necessities of life. Enrichment of the upper classes, impoverishment of the urban middle class, destitution of the workers, sharpening of social antagonisms, intensification of the class struggle—all these developments are reported by experienced observers of the Italian scene.

One might think that the Allies would have learned something from their experience in Italy, but all the evidence indicates that they have not. The press reports that in the occupied part of Germany the value of the Reichsmark has been set at 10 cents. England and America did not at first agree on this rate. The London *Economist* comments—not in its political section, significantly enough, but under Business Notes:

> It is now known that there was a distinct difference of opinion between the British and American governments on the issue. The British Treasury would have preferred rates of about 25 marks to the pound or about 6 marks to the dollar, which would probably have represented an un-

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dervaluation of the mark of between 30 and 40 per cent. The American Treasury got its way, and the new rate must be regarded as the first part of the Morgenthau plan to be applied to Germany. To impose a certain degree of undervaluation on the enemy's currency is only reasonable, but to exaggerate to this extent is to make inflation in Germany quite certain.

The *Economist* is right. An exchange rate of 10 marks to the dollar will cause severe inflation in Germany. Before the outbreak of the war the mark was worth about 40 cents. It has since depreciated somewhat, even as the dollar in the United States; the Nazis, however, by rigorous rationing and price control, have kept prices in Germany fairly stable, especially those of the necessities of life. If the value of the dollar in relation to the mark is now increased 300 per cent —if, in other words, the mark is arbitrarily reduced to 25 per cent of its former value—prices will rise 300 per cent.

One might say, "Why not? The Germans must pay the penalty of defeat, and part of it is the breakdown of their price structure." I have even heard it said that those who protest against such a policy favor a "soft peace" for Germany, and that the devaluation of the mark will mean a "hard peace." The fallacy of this becomes obvious if we consider for which classes of the population a 300 per cent inflation would be hardest, and for which it would be good business. Italy has already shown us the answer. In Germany, as in Italy, such a sharp devaluation of the currency would be a heavy blow to the workers, since wages would not rise nearly so fast as prices. The white-collar employees would also be hit. It would again be the big landowners and the big industrialists who would profit.

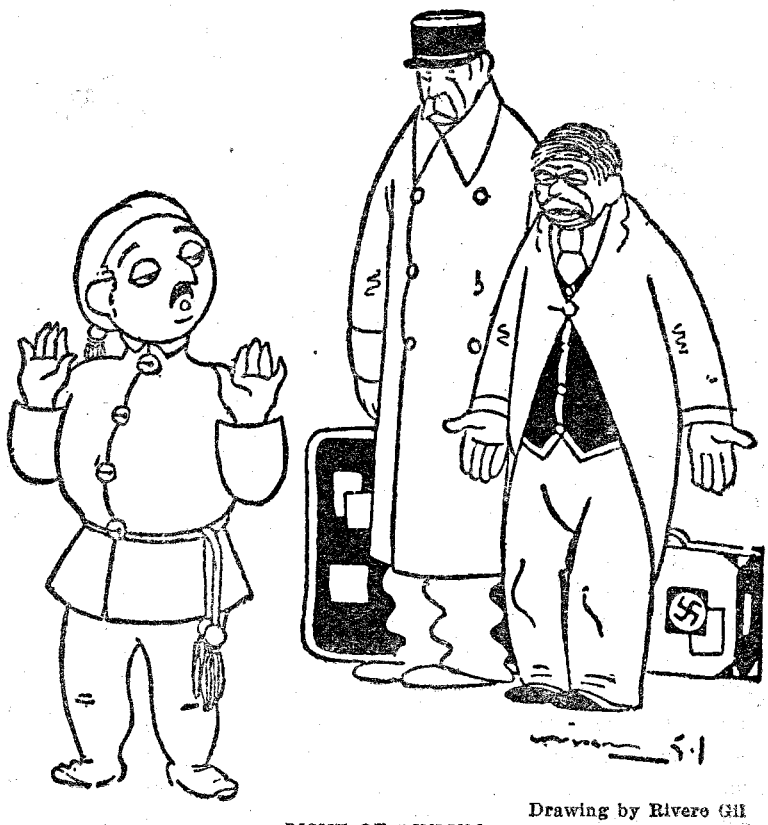
The lesson of Italy is as plain as day, but apparently we refuse to learn. Very well there is another lesson in the German inflation of 1920-23, which followed the same pattern; those who suffered were the workers and the middle class; the Junker landowners and the big industrialists made huge profits.

We should also realize that the effects of a German inflation would not be confined to Germany. It is proving very difficult to keep the Italian inflation localized in Italy; it would be utterly impossible in the case of Germany. No one can be so naive as to believe that the reduction of the German mark to one-quarter of its value would have no effect on adjacent countries. With the first step toward inflation in Germany, all efforts to maintain the value of the currency in France, Belgium, and Holland would be wrecked.

In this connection another fact is very important: every day brings reports that the Nazis are making preparations to go underground, setting up organizations to carry on the political war after the military defeat. Alvarez del Vayo has shown us how the Nazis are trying to establish bases in Spain and South America, but what they will require even more is a foothold in Germany itself. A German inflation brought about by the action of Britain and America would give the Nazis a vast store of political ammunition. One can well imagine the arguments of the illegal pamphlets with which they would try to influence the people. They would point out that as long as they were at the helm the mark was stable and prices were not too high, but that after the defeat all their labors were undone by the inflation which Britain and America forced on Germany.

The devaluation of the mark to 10 cents—in the face of strong British opposition—has thus far had only limited economic effect, for only a small part of Germany has been occupied. It is therefore still possible to change our course. However, great pressure from the American public would be necessary, after so stupid a beginning, to bring about a change. And to exert the necessary pressure, American public opinion would have to realize that fixing the value of European currencies is not merely a technical financial problem but one of great political importance. Every American can understand what would be the consequences in this country of a change in the value of the currency. If there were a sudden increase of 300 per cent in prices here caused by arbitrary devaluation of the dollar, the American people would rise up and sweep out of office those who were responsible. Similarly, fixing the value of the currency is a question of vital interest to the entire population of Europe. And it should be remembered that if America and Britain introduce inflation in Germany it will spread over the whole Continent.

The American administration claims that it wishes to help Europe attain economic stability and follow a middle course in politics. But if, in spite of its experience in Italy, in spite of the lessons of the former German inflation, it continues its present policies, it will undermine Europe's economy and heighten its social and political tensions. It will thus prepare the ground for revolution.



Drawing by Rivero Gil

RIGHT OF ASYLUM

"Don't compromise me. I am a democrat."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

DISTRUST OF BRAINS

BY JACQUES BARZUN

EVER since Andrew Carnegie supplied the country with public libraries, the public has thought of millionaire munificence as endowing learning. This has hardly been true for twenty years. There have been vast outlays for brick and mortar, for memorial halls which could be named after the donor, but these were already anachronisms. The universities had physically expanded up to and beyond their legitimate size; what they now needed was the means to support living talent. They still need it, but unfortunately for higher learning the typical bequest is one of $30,000 for cancer research. I have no love of cancer and no jealousy of medicine, but this sort of gift does nothing for higher learning. It springs from a sympathy grounded in animal fear, leaving untouched the duty to train young minds that are still free from the deadly scorpion. Taking at random a recent announcement of gifts to one institution and analyzing it, I find that of $69,900 the bulk was earmarked for medicine, chemistry, engineering, and allied sciences; a small fraction went to history, public law, business, and occupational therapy; and an anonymous donor assigned $10,000 to research in syphilis. If we count the subjects, the ratio is two to one in favor of serving animal needs—and the distribution of cash makes it more like 150 to 1.

We meet again our national faith in facts and our distrust of mind. This might be a permissible choice if it did not also amount to a mistrust of men. We think the American way respects ability and trusts in individual initiative—it may be so, but not in education. A glance at the policies of the great educational foundations will make my meaning clear. All of them naturally feel a serious responsibility in administering their vast resources. They want to avoid mistakes and they would like to see results. Nothing could be more proper, were it not that the word "see" is ambiguous, and that since the money must be given out ahead of performance, a safeguard is found in carefully planned "projects" which look as if pregnant with results. The seeing eye naturally jumps to the concrete, the familiar; and the upshot is an unfortunate subsidizing of measures instead of men, coupled with a strict accounting of "progress," of work published, in short, of "results."

I say unfortunate because I am persuaded that it is not the way to lay out money and get the most out of it. If we are agreed that the funds are meant for education, scholarship, science, art, wisdom, and good teaching—one foundation is for the advancement of teaching—then the only safe and profitable thing to do is to cast the bread upon the waters, to invest the money in men—men and women—not in things, not in projects, and not under control.* What do I mean by "things"? I mean the secretarial apparatus, the mimeographed paper, the steel filing cabinets, of which the granting authorities are usually lavish, while they are exceedingly "careful" about awards to human beings. When I am despondent I see in my mind's eye an endless row of steel files reaching, dark green, to the moon: they are filled to bursting with records and tests and graphs, and upon each one sits the pale ghost who filled it in return for his stipend. "For the same money"—to use the vulgarest standard—he might have been a scholar, a critic, a poet, or simply an educated man, a thoughtful citizen and capable parent, with no other "purpose" in view than his own and his country's good. Which, I wonder, is the truer execution of the testator's billion-dollar bequest?

I might add that when I am despondent I do not necessarily exaggerate; perhaps I only see more vividly and comprehensively. I happen to know that it costs one foundation $1,200 a year to maintain a young man who is working with great knowledge and fervor at musical composition based on new scales and instruments. Well, at the institution where he works are whole attics filled with discarded tests once part of a great piece of educational research. Counting all the wasted typing and man-hours of drudgery, one attic's worth would keep the musician in funds for ten years. Double his grant and he might achieve his results in less time, certainly with less wear and tear. The great obstacle to this obvious improvement is that the educational tests were tangible, undeniable "facts," though useless; whereas a piece of strange music or even an instrument bristling with stops and keys seems dubious, insubstantial, hardly fit for listing in an Annual Report.

And so the rich subsidies of education are frittered away in schemes. I have on my desk an Evaluation Study of a whole college—$10,000; a report on Freshman exploratory work—$30,000 a year for five years; a test on "forms of thinking" conducted at a school of education—$27,000; a project on "approaches to history"—$10,000 renewed for three years; a comparative examination of methods of conducting field work—$100,000. The printed mass takes up the room of a good set of Poe's works or the "Three Musketeers" with all its sequels. It cost eyesight, adrenaline, and the social investment of dozens of college educations before the first of these thousands of useless pages could even be penned. And do not think that it is one man's biased view that puts their value so low. Go to the very institutions where each "project" was undertaken and look for its "results." They are non-existent. The very memory of the deed has been forgotten, and of all those who received the handsome report fresh from the press I am perhaps the only one who

* The American Council of Learned Societies and the Guggenheim Foundation should be excluded from this generality. They work on the principle I advocate and their experience justifies it.

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has kept it. Its use, if any, now, on this printed page of mine, as an example of How Not to Do It.

My contention is that even if the chances of choosing good men were purely those of interviewers' luck—and it may be put as low as one error in two—the return in twenty years would thoroughly condemn the present practice. There is something twice delusive about the current method, for what it amounts to is the invariable choice of men whose minds run to papery accomplishments, and I do not mean men who will write books. I mean our old friends the fact-finders, who "study conditions," devise tests, and evaluate processes. The work of one young man I know is before me, and it concludes after the most harrowing survey of data that personnel maladjustments—he means students in trouble—are due to emotional disturbances. The author is ambitious and hard-working, a good money risk, ideal foundation fodder. Encouraged by the system, he has mastered the technique of this artificial "success," and he gaily helps his elders waste the precious life blood of learning that money could become.

WHOSE POWDER KEG?

BY ELI CHAMBERLAIN

IF THE Balkan countries are left alone they will succeed in forming a Balkan federation, to their own and Europe's advantage. A series of informing books on Balkan matters, of which Miss West's "Black Lamb and Grey Falcon" may be singled out as excellent of its kind, has brought enlightenment on Balkan problems but has not dispelled the inveterate view that the Balkans are a congeries of primitive peoples whose outstanding characteristic has been their mutual hostility and whose principal employment has been that of dragging into their quarrels those advanced states which have sought to keep a beneficent eye upon them. Even groups and individuals who have promoted schemes for pacifying the Balkans have done so with the aloof superiority of a Lady Bountiful, taking little notice of the real needs of the political minors for whom they wished to act.

But recent events have raised questions in the minds of even superficial readers of war news. In all the Balkan countries under German occupation there arose strong resistance movements which combined an extensive program of internal reform with the immediate goal of liberation. In each country a smaller resistance movement, usually with the word "national" in its title, professed hostility to the Germans but manifested even greater hostility to its liberal competitor. The support which the Western Allies extended to the liberal movements was grudging and inadequate. The support which they extended to the small "nationalist" groups was much more substantial, despite the fact that the "nationalist" leaders, notably Abas Kupi in Albania, Mihailovich in Yugoslavia, and Zervas in Greece, were also in contact with the Germans, who were willing to support such groups as an economical device for combating the larger resistance movements. Despite both German and British support of the "nationalists," the liberation movements have prevailed, most unexpectedly perhaps in the case of Enver Hoxha's L. N. C. in Albania, most spectacularly in the case of Tito, and against the most determined opposition in the case of Greece's E. A. M. Without outside interference the progress of the liberation movements would have been speedier and less costly.

The remarkable thing about these movements is the identity of their goals and their ability to secure the cooperation of diverse political parties for the attainment of these goals. Between the disparate movements also relations have been cordial. Strains are to be expected on questions of territorial claims—the perennially vexatious questions of Macedonia, western Thrace, northern Epirus-southern Albania, the Kossovo area. In each case the liberation movements have affirmed their countries' rights to disputed areas, but it has been the nationalist groups which have made most capital with extravagant irredentist claims. It is not unreasonable to expect that the parties involved, if they are not pushed about by outside pressures, will be able to evolve amicable settlements. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are advocating an autonomous Macedonia, to be incorporated into a Balkan federation. Greece is reluctant to yield its Macedonia to such a solution, but if its foreign policy is unhampered Greece too may be expected to reach an agreement with its neighbors.

A thoughtful and timely study of federation movements in the Balkans, dedicated, significantly, "to the peoples of the Balkans who in fighting fascism today make possible their federation tomorrow," has just appeared. This is L. S. Stavrianos's "Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement Toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times" (Smith College Studies in History, Volume 27, 75 cents). There have been a number of previous studies of Balkan federation, particularly in connection with the series of Balkan conferences held in the early 30's for the stated purpose of achieving Balkan rapprochement and eventually Balkan federation. But these works are fragmentary; the merit of Professor Stavrianos's work is that it comprehends the entire subject, and not merely as a diplomatic jigsaw but with the lives and interests of the peoples involved kept steadily in view.

The year 1914 marks a break in the motivation of the drive for federation. From the eighteenth century until that year much diplomatic intrigue and many speeches and brochures were devoted to schemes for Balkan federation. Detailed and critical study of each reveals that none arose out of popular conviction or was calculated to meet popular needs, but that all were contrived to promote some nationalist interest, usually independence or territorial aggrandizement. The great powers and Balkan statesmen alike used federation as an effective slogan when it served their current purposes to do so, and discarded it when other devices seemed more efficacious.

After 1914 agitation for federation became a genuine expression of people who desired it for its own sake, for the benefits it would bring to the people directly affected, and not as a means to some remoter political end. Two groups devoted themselves to the cause:

(a) Liberal intellectuals, journalists, professional men, who hoped that by educating public opinion they could induce Balkan governments to settle their differences, establish closer relations, and eventually unite in a federation. They attained their apogee in the four Balkan conferences of 1930-33, which they organized under the auspices of the

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Universal Peace Congress. Their scheme was based on the League of Nations and collective security, and when these collapsed, Balkan conferences and Balkan entente collapsed with them.

(b) Left-wing movements, such as labor and agrarian parties. Since the end of the nineteenth century Socialists and Communists had been promoting, in word and deed, the notion of a federation of Socialist or Communist states. The agrarians, for their part, sought to attain a romantic and somewhat utopian "Green International" of peasant commonwealths. These leftist organizations, both industrial and agrarian, reached their height in the revolutionary period after 1918, when Stambolisky was in power in Bulgaria, when Radich was the uncrowned king of Croatia, and when Communist parties were strong in urban areas. But in each of the Balkan countries left-wing movements were crushed by dictatorships.

In the liberation movements arising during the present war, however, these left-wing parties have again become active; they are in the ascendancy among the Partisans of Yugoslavia, the Fatherland Front of Bulgaria, the Democratic Front in Rumania, the E. A. M. in Greece, and the L. N. C. in Albania. And they have revitalized the federation movement, with the result that it is now stronger and nearer realization than at any time in the past. It is this fact which makes Professor Stavrianos's book so timely and so significant. The book should be read by all who profess a concern for the post-war security of the Balkans and of Europe and who at the same time use the resources of the democracies to frustrate democracy in the Balkans. The history of 150 years demonstrates that the prerequisite for Balkan federation and peace are, first, democratic regimes in the Balkans and, second, a system of collective security. There can be no enduring peace among the Balkan states or between the Balkans and the rest of Europe if the anti-democratic pre-war regimes are restored.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IT IS INTERESTING NEWS that the United Automobile Workers have established a book club which will distribute books at moderate cost to members of the union who are interested. The New York publishers Reynal and Hitchcock have been retained as consultants and advisers on technical and professional matters; the selection of books will be made by the Educational Department of the union. Six books will be distributed annually.

The Labor Book Club, as it is to be called, will not be a "left" book club. The selections will include popular novels as well as serious books on national and international affairs. It is assumed that workers, when they do read, read the same sort of books that other people do. This seems to me a sensible assumption. The statement of Reynal and Hitchcock, when it speaks of the "potentially vast market" the Labor Book Club may tap, makes the further assumption that workers are not primarily readers of books. This also is true, I think. By and large, most people, including workers, read magazines instead of books.

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The Labor Book Club, it seems to me, is bound to increase the number of book readers. This is generally, and rather loosely, considered a "good thing." I see no particular virtue in reading a book like "Forever Amber" instead of a serial in the *Saturday Evening Post*. It's not necessarily true that the person who begins by reading "Forever Amber" will eventually get to "War and Peace." But there's always a chance of it, especially among the young, and the Educational Department of the U. A. W. has an opportunity, which is almost frightening, to mold the taste of a large number of readers. The job of selection will be difficult and delicate—and fascinating as well. The Educational Department won't get very far if it doesn't give the members of the Labor Book Club what they want, or think they want—the distinction is important. They will want to read what's popular, and though good books are often popular, popular books are even more often bad. It is probably true that bad books drive out good, but I'm still wide-eyed enough to believe that at a certain point in the development of a reader, good books drive out bad. And by way of a footnote, I hope the Labor Book Club won't be confined permanently, as it probably will be at first, to current books.

Anyway, I shall be extremely interested in the selections of the Labor Book Club, of which the first six are to be announced this month.

FRANK ROSS PRODUCTIONS informs me that "The Robe," which F. R. P. is going to produce in Technicolor, has now sold more than a million and a half copies, "making the *property*" (my italics) one of the "greatest of great American best-sellers." What the devil does "great" mean anyway? I am informed further that for every 100 persons who have read the book, 67 are waiting to read it, and that it is exerting a powerful influence on the lives of thousands.

"It is the intention of Frank Ross and Mervyn Le Roy," says the letter—which, if you must know, is mimeographed except for the address—"to keep faith in every possible way with this ever-widening public. For that purpose Mr. Ross has budgeted over $4,000,000 to produce the picture."

I can't quote the whole letter. Suffice to say that Frank Ross Productions wants my advice on casting the film—and will I please send in suggestions.

Frankly, Mr. Ross, I haven't read the book, and I think I'll wait for the picture. Meanwhile, you have given me a new slant on the American—and Canadian—people. They are obviously made up of (1) those who have read "The Robe" and are now absorbed in deciding, en masse, who should play Marcellus, Demetrius, and Diana; (2) those who are reading "The Robe" and mustn't be disturbed; and (3) those who are waiting to read "The Robe" and have gone to war or are working in munitions factories just to pass the time until they can get hold of a copy.

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME: Our Famous Corset Salon, always with an eye to the future, has been lifting the bosom and tapering the waistline for months.—Advt. . . . Judging by the success of "Harvey," what this country needs is a good six-foot rabbit. . . . I notice someone is bringing out a book on the problem *teacher*. It's about time.

Coming

IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

JOHN GRIERSON'S article in this issue is the first in a series of four articles—TOMORROW THE MOVIES—on the development of the motion picture as a social force. His second article, PICTURES WITHOUT THEATERS, will appear next week. It will be followed by HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR and IS HOLLYWOOD SWINGING LEFT? by **DOROTHY JONES**, former head of OWI's Film Reviewing and Analysis Section, who in these articles speaks for herself.

*

STUART CHASE in the next issue contributes the last of three articles from his forthcoming book, "Democracy Under Pressure." This article, WAYS AND MEANS, discusses what can be done to curb the pressure groups and end the recurring deadlocks which are growing so disastrous for us all.

*

A CHINESE SCHOLAR, who must remain anonymous, has written an analysis of education in China today which shows how political corruption and reaction impinge upon the minds of children through a school system designed to promote faith in feudalism and distrust of democracy.

*

SIDNEY HOOK, noted American social and politi- philosopher, joins issue with **T. S. ELIOT** on the latter's conception of culture, society, and religion.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Nationalism or Peace

WE MIGHT AS WELL start with a truism: Josephus Daniels is eminently likable. He is modest: if he praises his own administration of the navy, it is in legitimate self-defense. I could detect but one case of egocentricity in the latest volume of his autobiography, "The Wilson Era: Years of Peace, 1910-1917" (Chapel Hill, $4). In 1916 California was the pivotal state. It went to Wilson, *because Daniels had expanded the naval establishments at Mare Island and San Diego.* A touching expression of faith in the potency of the pork barrel.

Daniels's great hero is Bryan, to whom he pays a heartfelt and really fine tribute. Wilson he respected, admired, and even loved; but Wilson at his most democratic, when he swept aside court etiquette at the White House, claimed to be "merely a gentleman." Bryan and Daniels were just folks.

Like Bryan, like Wilson, Daniels was an obstinate and thoroughgoing neutral. But they were not alone: Daniels quotes words of Theodore Roosevelt's which the fiery Colonel would have preferred posterity to forget: "I am not passing judgment upon Germany's action [the invasion of Belgium]. I admire and respect the German people. I am proud of the German blood in my veins." So far so good; but he proceeds: "When a nation feels that the issue of a contest in which, for whatever reason, it finds itself engaged will be national life or death, it is inevitable that it should so act as to save itself from death and perpetuate life." Teddy was right: there is no law for the true nationalist. We shall have to choose between nationalism and peace.

For Daniels the snakes in the grass were House, Lansing, and Page. He makes a good case for his own attitude. He was ready to abandon neutrality in the defense of principles; but what House, Lansing, and Page urged and secured was an alliance with Great Britain. So the crusade for democracy was from the first entangled with "my ally, right or wrong."

Well worth reading, this book—and not merely because it is pleasant and chattily informative. Bryan and Daniels stood for a large and thoroughly sound element in our people. They love peace, and are willing to organize for peace; but they would prefer isolation to imperialism, power politics, and diplomatic intrigue. That element is still with us. It will never guarantee a peace concocted in secrecy and imposed by a new Axis. It were unrealistic to ignore that basic fact.

ALBERT GUERARD

Washington Irving's Western Journal

ON HIS RETURN from Europe in 1832, after seventeen years abroad, Washington Irving said, "I come from countries lowering with doubt and danger, where the rich man trembles and the poor man frowns—where all repine at the present and dread the future. I come from these, to a country where all is life and animation." His eagerness to extend his knowledge of America led him to join a government commission on a visit to the region then newly set apart for the Indian tribes, in what is now Oklahoma. His "Journal" of that trip is here presented as an item in the American Exploration and Travel Series, meticulously edited by John Francis McDermott (University of Oklahoma Press, $3.50). Its chief interest to readers of American literature is that it furnishes a comparison with its author's "Tour of the Prairies," which he worked up from these notes. It is revealing to watch Irving, the inveterate lover of the picturesque, transform his French guide and buffalo hunter into the comic servant of European tradition, into a pale imitation of Gil Blas. As a result of being so saturated in literary allusions, Irving missed the chief opportunities afforded by this experience for fresh and lively creation of actual frontier types. Mr. McDermott makes this point tellingly, and urges that greater authenticity attaches to Irving's journal than to his finished book. But the journal itself is very fragmentary, though it does add to our social history some details of frontier customs as well as the day-to-day account of a company of Western rangers, robustly casual and unmilitary in their behavior.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN

Memoir and Opinion

BY FAR THE GREATER PART of "Our Jungle Diplomacy," by William Franklin Sands in collaboration with Joseph M. Lalley (Chapel Hill, $2.50), is taken up with Mr. Sands's lively, fragmentary, and very opinionated recollections of his career as a United States diplomat in Panama, Guatemala, and Mexico. This material, the author alleges, warrants and sustains a brief but violent and quite

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unbalanced attack on almost the entire tradition of American foreign policy. Some of the points can be reached and reinforced from other positions; yet in this present book they appear as ill-supported observations. Mr. Sands, were he a Briton, might perhaps be thought to suffer from an Indian liver. At least, his disequilibrium of temper is easily recognized when he writes of President Wilson's aid to Carranza as follows: "Mr. Wilson's repugnance to retail political murder prompted him to provide the guns and munitions for two decades of wholesale murder, robbery, and civil war." There are many remarks as extravagant as this. Needless to say, Mr. Sands has reactionary views on the Mexican Revolution, which he fallaciously interprets as largely a succession of racial phenomena, and as an event which might have been prevented by Mr. Thompson, a former American ambassador, had he not been stupidly dismissed. At least, Mr. Sands, in a characteristic passage, tells us that when Madero appealed to Thompson for help against the dictator Díaz, the American ambassador concluded his reply with the words, "As long as I remain in the embassy there will be no revolution." For this reason, Mr. Sands declares, Thompson's dismissal "was a decision that would ultimately affect the lives and deaths of millions of human beings." On page 239 he says, explicitly, that the chief fruit of American jungle diplomacy is the "disastrous war" in which we are now engaged. He is explicit, again, when he declares that our promotion of the Panamanian revolution of November 3, 1903, provided the Japs with pattern and inspiration, and apparently cause, for the seizure of Korea in February, 1904. One had hitherto thought of that event as part of the conflict of Russian and Japanese imperialism, which had already reached a state of war in February, 1903. The vigilant specialist in Central American affairs may pick up some few particles of useful knowledge from this book, but it is too idiosyncratic to have political value for the general reader. As a volume of memoirs it offers some entertainment.

RALPH BATES

Japan's "New Order"

SINCE MANY JOURNALISTS were included among the civilian Americans interned by the Japanese in Asia, their published accounts are beginning to add up to an informative library on conditions in the "co-prosperity sphere." These conditions, as outlined by Russell Brines in "Until They Eat Stones" (J. B. Lippincott, $3), were not so good more than a year ago; undoubtedly, they are much worse now. New aspects of the life of American internees in Manila and Shanghai are described by Brines, who covered much the same itinerary as Royal Arch Gunnison. He is at his best in handling the observed data in the Philippines and the Shanghai area. While his further appraisals of conditions and policy in the lands of Southeast Asia, in North China and Manchuria, and in Japan proper are not without occasional errors of detail, they add up to an unusually comprehensive picture of what Japan has been doing in these occupied territories since 1941. Those who are curious about the subject may read the last half of this work with considerable profit.

T. A. BISSON

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ROSE FELD'S little sketches about Sophie Halenczik were not what most people thought of as typical *New Yorker* material. At least, however, they did not appear out of place when one found them in the *New Yorker's* pages, and it seemed reasonable to suppose that a dramatization on which the author collaborated would exhibit some equivalent of the quality which made them acceptable to readers who were sophisticated in either the good or bad sense of that unsatisfactory word. In the light of any such expectations, however, "Sophie" (The Playhouse) is simply incredible, for it turns out to be a kind of "Abie's Irish Rose" in which the tale of a love affair between the scion of an old American family and the daughter of a Czech immigrant is told with all the subtlety of Miss Nichols's masterpiece. For all I know it may find and please a large audience, but if it does, that audience is not likely to include many of Sophie's admirers in her former incarnation.

Already this season we have been given abundant opportunity to study the methods of the dramatizer and to compare plays with the novels or short stories from which they were taken. At least one adaptation, "The Late George Apley," is an extremely skilful job. One or two are reasonably satisfactory, one or two are passable despite the fact that a certain diffuseness in the material and a certain tendency of the action to wobble uncertainly indicate clearly enough that the story was not originally conceived in the dramatic form. But we have had nothing else which had suffered so disastrous a transmogrification as this of "Sophie" into hokum of the most obvious sort. No doubt part of the explanation lies in the fact that in no other case did the dramatizer undertake to deal with material which furnished him with so little that could be translated directly into dialogue or action.

Those who have read the original sketches will remember that their method is exceedingly indirect. Sophie is an industrious and useful servant. To her mistress, who tells the tale, she appears slow, stubborn, inarticulate, and of dubious intelligence. But occasionally she drops some remark concerning some acquaintance or some member of her family, and, after persistent questioning, she yields a fantastic story—about the suitor whom she dismissed because she suspected the virility of a man too careful of his digestion; about her son who doubted the responsibility for an illegitimate child until she invented a tall tale about the birthmarks hereditary in the family; above all, about her pride in being an American. But none of the events is ever brought directly before our eyes, and none of them ever ceases to have the vagueness of distant, not quite comprehended things. The Sophie in the kitchen is real; the Sophie who conducts with great competence a highly complicated private life is a legendary figure in whom one hardly believes and concerning whom, therefore, almost anything seems at least as credible as anything else.

In the play, on the other hand, we are led directly into Sophie's own house and presented with her adventures in detailed as well as concrete form. Katina Paxinou, the Greek actress, plays the heroine, not as a slow-moving peasant but as a matriarch of Mediterranean vivacity; and the director has filled the stage with the incessant noise and bustle of a George Abbott farce. Several of the incidents are recognizable in outline as drawn from the original sketches, but once the veil of indirectness has been discarded they cease to be either interesting or credible, and a sad attempt has been made to bolster them with half that repertory of gags which ceased to be standard a quarter of a century ago—including that about a postman who takes a personal interest in his clients' mail and that involving a vast pother about a chamber pot which Sophie considers a proper ornament for the front hall as long as it is tastefully concealed in what, I believe, used to be called a "commode."

If Miss Feld thought this play a reasonable dramatic equivalent of her sketches, then the fact suggests a curious commentary on the writer's gift and the extent to which writers themselves do not always understand what they have done. If she merely stood by while her work was mistreated, then it suggests a sad commentary on the price authors sometimes pay for the willingness to permit attempts at commercial exploitation. In any event, one moral is clear. The dramatizer who selects a story to work upon should assure himself either that it can be lifted pretty directly to the stage or that, if it can't, he knows how to recapture some of its quality in a different form.

THE UNITIES and the proprieties of the classic stage are disrespected with a vengeance in the current Harlem production, "Walk Hard" (the American Negro Theater). And yet the play, acted with skill and enthusiasm, has "punch" and, sometimes, elements of good drama. "Walk Hard" is not, as it now stands, in a class with "Anna Lucasta." If it is to be brought to midtown, it will need rewriting and polishing. It wants more unity and integration. A young Negro boxer is the too tenuous link between a number of different problems, one of which is his own psychological difficulties when faced with the others. The young boxer, a serious-minded, wholesome boy, is bewildered by his encounter with the uncomprehending and vicious world. He is exploited by racketeer boxing managers, and he inevitably runs afoul of "Jim Crow." In addition to its indictment of the world of small-time professional boxing, "Walk Hard" is a protest against "Jim Crow" and a challenge to combat it. Then, too, a certain amount of love interest is woven into the play. Unfortunately it is neither altogether a psychological study nor altogether a social document; it is not powerful drama either. It would be a more effective production if it pulled in fewer directions at once and if its realism were less vulgar. Foul-mouthed plug-uglies and drunken whores may make for local color, but in the theater suggestion often goes farther than the real thing. In spite of its shortcomings, however, "Walk Hard" is an interesting play, and the American Negro Theater deserves to be encouraged.

The A. N. T., in its program, solicits contributions to its building fund. Certainly its present installation is singularly bad. Seated squarely behind a thick pillar in the A. N. T.'s cellar theater, I found it very hard to follow the action on the tiny stage. The A. N. T. is a tax-exempt organization and, I should say, worthy of support. (The address of the A. N. T. is 104 West 136th Street, New York.) M. C.

Films

JAMES AGEE

WHILE I was watching "The Keys of the Kingdom," and for a few days afterward, I liked it quite well for its sincerity and for what then seemed its reasonably clean effort to present a hero whose heroism is moral. As I think it over, much of the sincerity and of the ethics seems beefy, overcomfortable, love-your-fellow-mannish, and in general rather uninteresting. I think

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it cheap to convince the audience that a priest's a male for all that by giving him a sweetheart, then knocking her off in order to provide him with manly rather than godly reasons for spending the rest of the show in a cassock. The relationship between the priest and a handsome mother superior is unusual for films and brings a couple of good scenes, but I disliked its being fed the audience as a sort of loveless love interest. It seems a little weak, for that matter, to spend most of your two hours in China in order that those who can't take their moral conflicts, such as they are, neat can always chase them with something pleasantly exotic. I wonder, too, why I thought Gregory Peck a particularly gifted actor. Now, it seems to me that he probably has talent, in a still semi-professional stage, and that I was moved and misled rather by his newness, his unusual handsomeness, and his still more unusual ability to communicate sincerity. There are, however, some fully unquestionable pieces of acting—a beautiful one by Sir Cedric Hardwicke, a good if broad one by Vincent Price, a disciplined, highly charged one by Rosa Stradner, and I imagine a good one by Edmund Gwenn; I can't wholly like or trust my judgment of the sort of mellow old man he plays here. Actually, I suppose it's a pretty good movie all around, but I feel about it as I might if I were given the original novel, bound in veal, for Christmas, and felt I had to read it with care. I am, incidentally, getting a little tired of seeing movies thought of as "religious" which carry not much more religious meaning or insight or adventurousness than a bourgeois's good intentions at New Year's. Not that priests would be by any means necessary to a good religious picture. I can't help noticing that they have never yet been shown on the screen at their real business, public or private; just as screen lovers are seldom shown to be capable of love.

"Winged Victory" has some briskly interesting and well-assembled material about the training and testing and rejecting phases of Air Force life. Aside from that I suppose it is all right, but I don't enjoy having anyone try to persuade me, so cheerfully and energetically, that the Air Force personnel is without exception composed of boy scouts old enough to shave. "Here Come the Waves" is an almost totally negligible musical, which does, however, involve Bing Crosby, Betty Hutton (in a double role), and Sonny Tufts. I would enjoy Crosby even if he did not amusingly kid Sinatra, and probably even if he did nothing but walk across a shot; I may begin to tire of Betty Hutton's violence some day, but I haven't yet; and though Sonny Tufts's work is almost wholly composed of "natural" mannerisms, I think most of them natural and entertaining. "Can't Help Singing" miscarries Deanna Durbin, a Jerome Kern score, and a trip across North America in 1849. It seems to me this could have been a beautiful and gay picture; unfortunately it is made without much feeling for either beauty or gaiety. "Music for Millions" so uses Margaret O'Brien and Jimmy Durante and June Allison and Jose Iturbi and a symphony orchestra and God only knows how many dollars as to get close to the least good possible out of any of them. "Hollywood Canteen" tempted two Albany bank presidents each to buy $10,000,000 (ten million dollars) of war bonds in order that one might "stand in" for Errol Flynn and the wife of the other for Bette Davis at a "Proxy Première" in that city. Buy a war bond and a ticket to the show—the proceeds go to the real Hollywood Canteen—but take care to invest in a bar of nose candy on your way through the lobby.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

PROKOFIEV'S new Sonata Opus 94 for violin and piano, which Szigeti played at his Carnegie Hall recital with Harry Kaufman, is Peter-and-the-Wolf-ish, and therefore pleasant to listen to once but not interesting to hear a second time. Once is enough also for Stravinsky's Duo Concertant (1932), in which the method that produces amusing results in the gay Gigue produces a horrid distorted lyricism in the serious movements. For the first time in my experience Szigeti, who was in top form, played with a pianist who had musicianship and vitality comparable with his own; and it was wonderful to hear (Kaufman is, then, a third ensemble pianist, in addition to Rupp and Balsam, whom the New Friends might have engaged to play sonatas with Szigeti instead of Arrau). And it was astounding all over again to hear what Szigeti does with Bach's A minor Sonata for unaccompanied violin—to hear, that is, the illusion of eloquence and power created in this arid music by the eloquence and power of the performance.

I heard part of the broadcast of Eugene Istomin's performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 with the New York Philharmonic, and admired his sensitive treatment of music and instrument. The treatment of the music was in fact too sensitive: Istomin has a tendency to linger too long over the ends of phrases, possibly out of sheer excess of the warm musical feeling that is evident in his playing.

Victor's one set (980; $5.75) for January offers excerpts from Puccini's "La Bohême," recorded—presumably before the war—by Albanese, Gigli, and others with the Milan Scala Orchestra under Berretoni. They comprise the two popular arias and final duet from Act 1, Musetta's aria from Act 2, the farewell and the quartet from Act 3, the Rodolfo-Marcello duet and the final scene from Act 4. As I have had occasion to mention before, Puccini was my first love in opera, but now I cannot endure the excessive sentimentalities and archnesses of this music, which moreover lend themselves to the stylistic mannerisms of Italian tenors and sopranos that make them even worse. These mannerisms flourish luxuriantly in almost every phrase that is to be heard in this new set; as for the singing apart from style, Albanese's voice is fresher and lovelier than it is today, Gigli's is very beautiful when it is not straining for iron power in high notes; Tatiana Menotti's is the tremulously shrieky soprano that apparently is bred for in Musettas; and Afro Poli's is quite a good baritone. The conductor's job in this performance, as in most performances of this opera, is merely to follow the great singers in their extravagances humbly—which Berretoni does.

On a single disc (10-1121; $.75) is a Prelude and Fugue in E minor by Bach (Novello II, 44; Peters Book 242, 88) played by E. Power Biggs on the Baroque Organ in the Germanic Museum of Harvard University. I find the Prelude as uninteresting now as I did when I listened to it played by Commette on Columbia 14273-D, and the Fugue only a little more impressive. Biggs plods through them in his usual four-square fashion; the reverberant recording occasionally does not reproduce the polyphony clearly.

On another single (11-8695; $1) are the Mad Scene and Death of the Miller from Dargomizhsky's "Russalka," sung by Chaliapin with Pozemkovsky, tenor, and an orchestra under Steimann. Except for Chaliapin's singing it is a very poor performance; and even his singing does not make the music interesting. My copy of this record has very noisy surfaces.

Of the two remaining singles, one (11-8696; $1) offers a rather tasteless medley of bits of Strauss waltzes by Johann Sr. and Jr., Eduard, and Josef, well performed by Goehr with the London Philharmonic. The other (11-8694; $1) offers the Prelude and Menuet from Debussy's early Suite Bergamasque, music which I don't care for even when it is well performed, as it seems to be by E. Robert Schmitz.

CONTRIBUTORS

JUAN NEGRIN, Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic, is at present in exile in London.

KEITH HUTCHISON, associate editor of *The Nation*, has just returned from a three months' visit to England.

JOHN GRIERSON is head of the Canadian Film Board and a recognized authority on documentary films.

GEROLD FRANK is war correspondent in the Near and Middle East for Overseas Press, Inc.

JACQUES BARZUN is an associate professor of history at Columbia University. Among his books are "Race: A Study in Modern Superstition," "Of Human Freedom," and "Culture in the Democracy."

ELI CHAMBERLAIN is the pseudonym of a writer closely in touch with Balkan affairs.

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Letters to the Editors

The "Digest" Protests

Dear Sirs: Permit me as one of the editors of the *Reader's Digest* to correct the statements in your editorial of December 2 which referred to the report of the Magazine and Newspaper Committee of the National Council of Teachers of English. Your editorial relied on figures from that report, and entirely ignored the fact that the report was rejected by the Executive Committee of that association (vote five to two) because it was unreliable, unscientific, and lacked objectivity. As to the very figures you quoted, the Executive Committee's analysis says: "This array of percentages is confusing."

From these misleading percentages your editorial concludes: "To give the effect of presenting a cross-section of American thought, a substantial proportion of the 'hotbed' articles were planted in other periodicals first, and then reprinted by the *Digest.*"

The facts are that in two and a half years—from January, 1942, through June, 1944—out of 1,095 articles, those devoted to economics, government and politics, industrial relations, and international relations numbered 155. Out of these, 41 articles were first created through the cooperation of editors of other magazines with editors of the *Digest*, were published elsewhere, and later reprinted in the *Digest.*

Thus, 41 out of 1,095 articles, less than 4 per cent, dealing with so-called "hotbed" subjects, were reprints from other magazines of articles created by the *Digest.* Your total certainly does not give this impression.

Even of the 4 per cent, very few of the articles were controversial in character.

One expects *The Nation* not to accept inaccurate material from a subcommittee report so biased that it was rejected by the parent body.

FULTON OURSLER

Pleasantville, N. Y., December 6

[We find nothing to correct in our editorial comment. Mr. Oursler, interestingly enough, uses different years and in his analysis a criterion somewhat different from that used by the committee of the National Council of Teachers of English. Yet he admits that 26½ per cent of the *Digest* articles devoted to economics, government and politics, industrial and international relations were "created through the cooperation of editors of other magazines with editors of the *Digest.*" If we substitute the harsher term "planted" for its euphonious equivalent, we find that there is virtually no disagreement between "the facts" as cited by Mr. Oursler and the "misleading percentages" cited by the committee of the National Council of Teachers of English—certainly not enough to affect the conclusions of the editorial. The fact that the *Digest* published 1,040 articles outside of this controversial area and that none of these were "planted" seems to us to be largely irrelevant, as was the action of the Executive Committee of the National Council. Regardless of possible minor inaccuracies, the committee has performed a useful service in calling attention to the extent to which the *Digest* is not a "digest" but a staff-planned publication whose planning, by Mr. Oursler's own admission, affects the contents of other magazines as well as the *Digest* itself.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Facts of Life

Dear Sirs: I was interested in reading the letter of John W. Scoville in your issue of November 30, in which he espoused the principle of laissez faire. I wish to remind Mr. Scoville that the automobile industry, to which he is attached, would never have been able to develop to its present proportions without the subsidization of highway building by government and taxation by government for such purpose.

When the first concrete highway was built in Detroit, there was opposition because of the burden placed upon the taxpayers, which would benefit only a small proportion of the people. Years later an appropriation by the state of $50,000,000 for highways was opposed on the same ground. Since then hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent by government in highway construction in America, and the other day Congress adopted a post-war highway program which will eventually cost $3,000,000,000. Without the constant improvement of the highways to meet the changes in automobile design and engine power the automobile industry would never have been able to expand. Without the construction by government of air ports and government regulation of air transportation the aviation industry would be stifled for many years to come.

The Chrysler Corporation, with which Mr. Scoville is connected, some years back undertook a program of eliminating lead poisoning among its employees and did quite a thorough job of it, to the benefit of the workers and of the corporation and, incidentally, of the whole community. No one would accuse the Chrysler Corporation of being dictatorial, or bureaucratic, or even paternalistic, because it undertook this program of controlling lead poisoning.

But in the city of Detroit there are many square miles of dilapidated buildings with filthy alleys and unsanitary food-provision houses and markets which propagate rodents and spread disease. Now suppose someone were to suggest that the public markets and provision houses which cover large areas be placed in concrete buildings and concrete cellars, converting most of the

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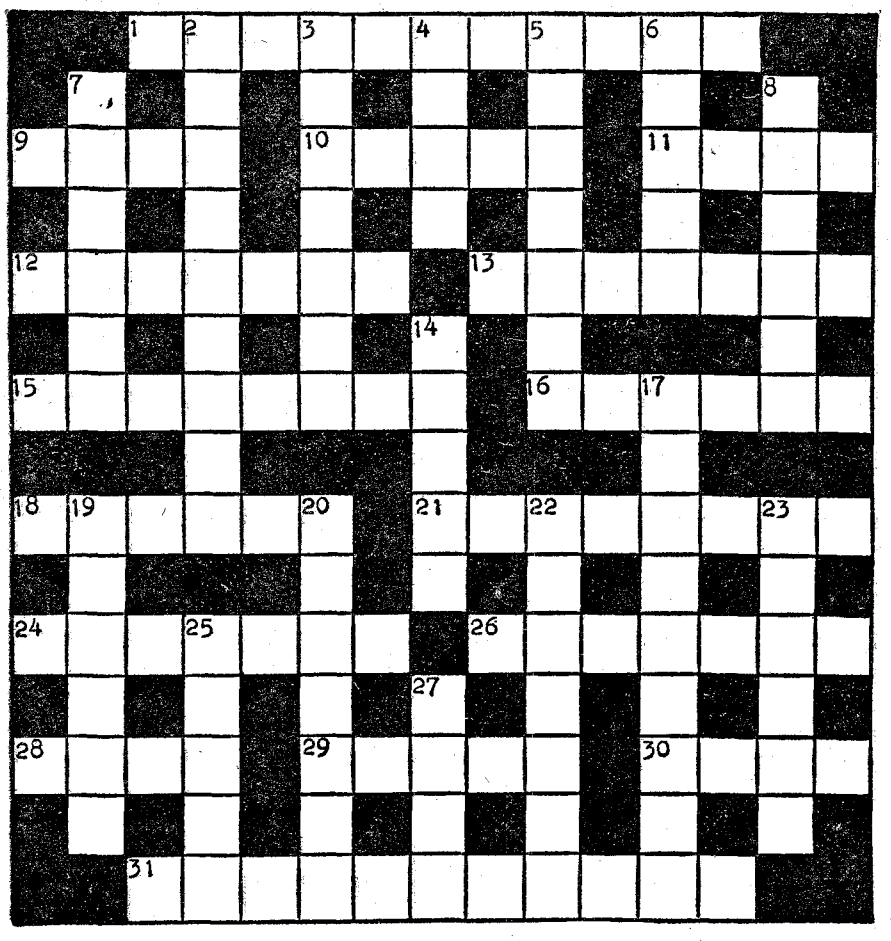
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 97

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Political vessel that is sometimes at sea, though it never goes to sea (three words, 4, 2 and 5)
9 Read it, and digest the contents
10 "- - - - - I did it. Boy!" (Shakespeare)
11 The work is in the soup
12 Andiron
13 Confer with the government official at tea
15 Banter, or what poor wine becomes
16 Where no life is found, according to Thomas Hood
18 "Those who want - - - - - - things are nearest to the gods" (Socrates)
21 Can't be found, and no superimposed copy taken
24 The butcher would find more than one in the hedge
26 Costers follow form closely
28 Carriage suggesting what might admit it
29 Built-out window
30 "Windows of the soul"
31 He doesn't care what happens, as long as it doesn't happen to him

DOWN

2 A homely spouse
3 Mechanical music maker
4 Puffed himself up to resemble the bull, in the fable
5 Seems rather a precarious grip to get on a 250-pound wrestler
6 They give the poor workman cause for complaint
7 Tin ear (anag.)
8 He may not know his weight to an ounce, but he knows his way to announce
14 "Love seldom haunts the breast where learning lies, And - - - - - sets ere Mercury can rise" (Pope)
17 Since he always spelt it this way, should we assume that the Bard couldn't spell his own name?
19 Wind harp
20 Plant a good deal used in fencing
22 A draggle-tail
23 "To know, to - - - - - - -, to love, and then to part, Makes up life's tale to many a feeling heart" (Coleridge)
25 Dropped and picked up with facility by a Cockney
27 The unmarried state, in short

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 96

ACROSS:—1 CLERGYMAN; 6 PIPIT; 9 EMOTION; 10 CATALPA; 11 PAN; 12 TICKET; 13 ADAM; 15 CHEERING; 16 COBNUT; 18 FOMENT; 20 FORTRESS; 23 TASK; 24 DRAGON; 25 GAS; 28 RAIMENT; 29 ENGRAVE; 30 ANGER; 31 CONCORDAT.

DOWN:—1 CHEAP; 2 ENOUNCE; 3 GLITTERING; 4 MENACING; 5 NICHES; 6 PUTT; 7 PALADIN; 8 TEAM-MATES; 14 MONTENEGRO; 15 CAFETERIA; 17 JOE GREEN; 19 MISSING; 21 ENGLAND; 22 CRITIC; 26 SCENT; 27 PEER.

land of those markets to parks for the benefit of residents in a blighted area surrounding these markets; it would be deemed by Mr. Scoville paternalistic, autocratic, and an interference with private enterprise.

Suppose the obsolete warehouses and factory buildings along the river front, which no longer depend on water transportation, were condemned by the city and the land replotted for residential purposes and converted from an ugly front door to a beautiful park and residential area; that also would be an interference with private enterprise according to Mr. Scoville's theory.

But suppose the automobile industry enters the field of prefabricated houses and discovers that a market for such houses in large enough numbers to insure mass production requires government condemnation of the ugly, filthy, insanitary areas in the cities, and the replotting of such areas into home districts within parks to be rented to tenants or sold on long-term payments. I am quite certain that the automobile industry would not consider government intervention in such activities an unwarranted extension of governmental prerogatives any more than it does government appropriations for the construction of highways.

HARRY SLAVIN

Detroit, Mich., December 18

The Moyne Incident

Dear Sirs: Here is one reader who did not like your editorial on the "Lord Moyne incident."

You shed tears over the death of the British beer baron, forgetting that the British will exact a terrific penalty for that one killing. You forgot entirely that the brave men who will pay with their lives for that incident acted to call our attention to the long-continued acts of murder being perpetrated by Nazi-minded British colonial officials. When the British closed the doors of Palestine to innocent men, women, and children who were attempting to escape from Nazi Europe, they became guilty of murder.

Please don't whitewash British criminals who are attempting to use the "Moyne incident" to justify past and future murders. It is our duty to insist that our government act to compel the British to remove Nazi-minded officials from Palestine. If we acquiesce in the British betrayal of Palestine, we only pave the way for future betrayals on a larger scale. LEWIS I. DUBLIN

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 6

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